

A HISTORY OF METHODISM:

~~SUMMARY~~

*A VIEW OF THE RISE OF THIS REVIVAL OF SPIRITUAL RELIGION
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, AND
OF THE PRINCIPAL AGENTS BY WHOM IT WAS
PROMOTED IN EUROPE AND AMERICA;*

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF

The Doctrine and Polity of Episcopal Methodism
in the United States, and the Means and Manner of its Extension
Down to A.D. 1884.

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WILLIAM McKENDREE was born in King William county, Virginia, July 6, 1757. His parents were both natives of the same State. His father was a planter, and William was brought up in the same occupation. The schools to which he had access gave him a fair English education, so that he was for a time employed in teaching. Nature endowed him with a fine and pleasing person and address, a quick apprehension, a sound and discriminating mind, a refined taste, and that element of all true greatness known as common sense. Piety quickened and developed his intellectual powers in a marked degree. The concentration of mind and heart upon a great vocation, and the drawing "all his cares and studies this way," made an era in his mental as well as in his moral history. The following is his own account of his early life:

I do not recollect to have sworn more than one profane oath in my life, yet, as far back as memory serves, I am conscious of the prevalence of evil passions—of a heart disposed to wickedness—so that, notwithstanding the restraints by which I was kept within the bounds of a respectable morality, my heart was far from being right with God. It was "deceitful and desperately wicked." Of this deplorable state of things I became exquisitely sensible by reading the Holy Scriptures in school when I was a small boy; and with the simplicity of a child I yielded to the dictates of conscience, refrained from what appeared to be wrong, and as a child endeavored to imitate those holy men of God as set forth in the Scriptures. I would frequently seek solitary places in the woods, there fall upon my face and weep freely while I thought I was talking to Jehovah. This practice I followed until I became so serious that I was taken notice of. The school-master (who was a vain man, and boarded at my father's) and others began to laugh at me, and make remarks, and finally laughed me out of all my seriousness. I then heedlessly pursued the pleasures of the world, and do not remember to have had any more serious impressions for several years. My own experience has led me to care for those who are under religious impressions in their early days.

Some time after the Methodist preachers came into the neighborhood, a revival of religion took place; my father, mother, and several others, became professors of religion, and many joined the Church. I was then deeply convinced of sin, and resolved to set out and serve the Lord.*

* The Life and Times of McKendree, by Bishop Paine.

In conformity with this resolution, as a seeker of religion he was received on trial, but halting by the way, he failed to obtain the prize. His undisguised representation of his case shows the danger of awakened persons associating with companions, however civil, who neither fear nor love God: "But my attachment to worldly associates, who were civil and respectful in their deportment, had grown with my growth, and my conviction was not accompanied with sufficient firmness to dissolve the connection; and their conduct being accommodated to my reformed manners, I continued to enjoy the friendship both of the Society and of the world, but in a very imperfect degree. They continued to counteract and impair each other, until the love of the world prevailed, and my relish for genuine piety departed. I peaceably retired from the Society, while my conduct continued to secure their friendship."

Young McKendree bore his part in the Revolution, and was at Yorktown when Cornwallis surrendered. In 1820 he passed over the ground with a friend and showed him where his camp was. A spell of sickness brought him into the jaws of death. He prayed as sinners pray when great fear is upon them, and vowed as they vow. But his confidence in his own sincerity was shaken by the startling question, suggested he knew not how: "If the Lord would raise you up and convert your soul, would you be willing to go and preach the gospel?" He shrunk from the answer, and trembled at this test of obedience. With returning strength and health he went back to the vain world with lessened confidence in promises of amendment made under fear:

In this situation I continued until the great revival of religion took place in Brunswick Circuit, under Mr. John Easter, in 1787. On a certain Sabbath I visited a gentleman who lived in the neighborhood; he and his lady were going to church, to hear a Mr. Gibson, a local Methodist preacher. The church was open to any occupant—the clergy having abandoned their flocks and the country and fled home to England. My friend declined going to church, sent a servant with his wife, and we spent the time in reading a comedy and drinking wine. Mrs. ——— staid late at church, but at last, when we were impatient for dinner, she returned, and brought strange things to our ears. With astonishment flushing her countenance she began to tell whom she left "in a flood of tears," who were "down on the floor," who were "converted," what an "uproar" was going on among the people—cries for mercy and shouts for joy, etc. She also informed us that Mr. John Easter was to preach at that place on the following Tuesday. My heart was touched at her representation. I resolved to seek religion, and began in good earnest to pray for it that evening.

Tuesday I went to church, fasting and praying. Mr. Easter preached from John iii. 19-22, "And this is the condemnation, that light has come into the world," etc. The word reached my heart. From this time I had no peace of mind; I was completely miserable. My heart was broken up. A view of God's forbearance, and of the debasing sin of ingratitude, of which I had been guilty in grieving the Spirit, overwhelmed me with confusion. Now my conscience roared like a lion. "The pains of hell got hold of me." I concluded that I had committed the "unpardonable sin," and had thoughts of giving up all for lost. For three days I might have said, "My bed shall comfort me, then thou scarest me with dreams, and terriliest me through visions, so that my soul chooseth strangling and death rather than life." But in the evening of the third day deliverance came. While Mr. Easter was preaching I was praying as well as I could, for I was almost ready to despair of mercy. Suddenly doubts and fears fled, hope sprung up in my soul, and the burden was removed. I knew that God was love, that there was mercy even for me, and I rejoiced in silence.

Mr. Easter confidently asserted that God had converted my soul, but I did not believe it, for I had formed to myself an idea of conversion—how it would come, and what must follow; and what I then felt did not answer to my idea; therefore I did not believe that I was converted, but I knew there was mercy for me, and I greatly rejoiced in that. However, I soon found myself in an uncomfortable condition, for I immediately began to seek and to expect a burden of sin answerable to my idea, in order to get converted. But the burden was gone, and I could not recover it. With desire I sought rest, but I thought that greater distress than I had felt must precede that blessing, and therefore refused to be comforted. And thus for several weeks I experienced all the anguish of grasping at an object of the greatest importance, and missing my aim—of laying hold of life and salvation, then falling back into the vortex of disappointment and distress. But deliverance was at hand. Mr. Easter came round, and his Master came with him, and in the time of meeting the Lord, who is merciful and kind, blessed me with the witness of the Spirit; and then I could rejoice indeed—yes, with joy unspeakable and full of glory! Within twenty-four hours after this I was twice tempted to think my conversion was delusive, and not genuine, because I did not receive the witness of the Spirit at the same time. But I instantly applied to the throne of grace, and, in the duty of prayer, the Lord delivered me from the enemy; and from that day to this I have never doubted my conversion. I have pitied, and do still pity, those who, under the influence of certain doctrines, are led to give the preference to a doubting experience, and therefore can only say, "If I ever was converted," "I hope I am converted," "I fear I never was converted," etc., but can never say, "We know that we have passed from death unto life."

The same preacher by whom he had believed followed, "not long after," with a sermon on sanctification. McKendree examined the doctrine, and found it true; examined himself, and "found remaining corruption, and diligently sought the blessing held forth." In its pursuit he says, "My soul grew in grace and in the faith that overcomes the world;" and he thus concludes the description of this phase of his experience: "One morning

I walked into the field, and while I was musing, such an overwhelming power of the Divine Being overshadowed me as I had never experienced before. Unable to stand, I sunk to the ground more than filled with transport. My cup ran over, and I shouted aloud. Had it not been for a new set of painful exercises which now came upon me, I might have rejoiced 'evermore;' but my heart was enlarged, and I saw more clearly than ever before the danger of those in an unconverted state. For such persons I prayed with anxious care. At times, when called upon to pray in public my soul would get into an agony, and the Lord would in great compassion pour out his Spirit. Souls were convicted and converted, and Zion rejoiced abundantly in those days. Without a thought of preaching, I began to tell my acquaintances what the Lord had done for me and could do for them. It had its effect, and lasting impressions were made. Thus I was imperceptibly led on until the preachers and people began to urge me to speak more publicly."

From preaching he drew back. It was too high, it was too heavy. The thought of appearing in public as God's ambassador overwhelmed him. His father saw his silent struggle and perplexity, and gently warned him not to quench the Spirit. Again his spiritual father came to his help: "In the ninth month after I received the witness of my acceptance, the Conference came on. It was held in Petersburg. Mr. Easter requested me to fix myself and attend. I did so, and he kindly took me to his lodging. Upon his going to the Conference-room he invited me to come up at a certain hour and see the preachers. I went accordingly, and the first thing after prayer was to read out the preachers' stations, and I was appointed to Mecklenburg Circuit, with Philip Cox. This was an unexpected shock. When dismissed I was walking in another room, when my presiding elder came in and, discovering my agitation, took me in his arms and in the most feeling manner said, 'While you were standing before the Conference I believe God showed me that he had a work for you to do.' This had the most happy effect. It determined my unsettled mind."

McKendree has entered upon his life work, and we leave his history to develop with the Church. Much depends on a young preacher's first associations in the ministry, and he was fortunate in this. Philip Cox was an Englishman who led out into the

itinerancy not a few chief ministers. The next year (1789) Cox called out Enoch George, a young man even more diffident than McKendree. He introduced him to Asbury, and the Bishop sent him with a letter to a preacher who was forming a circuit at the head-waters of the French Broad and the Catawba, three hundred miles distant. "I was astonished and staggered," says George, "at the prospect of this work, but resorted to my tried friend Cox, who animated me with his advice and directions, and I set off with his benedictions and the blessing of the Lord. Thus," he adds, "I began my itinerancy." Asbury knew that if any thing could be made of the "beardless boy" presented to him by Cox, the heroic work of the frontier would do it. Cox was a very small man. At one time he felt so poorly that he thought he must quit the itinerancy; but he had himself weighed, and found that he weighed a hundred pounds. He then said, "It shall never be said that I have quit traveling while I weigh a hundred pounds." He married when he was upward of fifty years old, but continued to travel until he died. Just before his death (1793) he observed that it was such a day of peace and comfort to his soul as he had seldom felt.

Philip Cox gave such attention to selling and distributing books and tracts that he was called the Assistant Book Agent. He bore a conspicuous part in the great revival of 1787 that brought in McKendree. Eight hundred were converted in Amelia Circuit, sixteen hundred in Sussex, and eighteen hundred in Brunswick. While Philip Cox was preaching at the funeral of a little child, on the text, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," to a congregation of a hundred, "fifty of whom were old professors, out of the other fifty the Lord spoke peace to thirty before the meeting broke up." Cox, having been lamed by an accident, preached this sermon sitting on a table. The next day he preached again, in the woods, sitting in a chair placed on a table, and more than sixty souls were converted.

The genuineness of this great work "received a thousand attestations in the altered lives, persevering fidelity, and increasing holiness of those who were brought from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God." It was a great advantage to begin one's ministry amid such scenes of saving power, and under such a guide and leader as Philip Cox.

McKendree, after preaching on circuits in his native State and the Carolinas, was put in charge of a district which extended from the Chesapeake Bay over the Blue Ridge and terminated at the foot of the Alleghany Mountains. Next, his admirable preaching and administrative abilities found scope in a district of similar dimensions in the Baltimore Conference. In the fall of 1800 Bishops Asbury and Whatcoat passed through his field of labor, and took him with them to the Western Conference, which met at Bethel, Kentucky, in October. McKendree was accustomed to "keep house in his saddle-bags." It was said he could pack more into them, and in better order, than other men. He therefore went at three hours' notice. He was appointed to the oversight of the whole Conference in the character of a presiding elder of the district. If opportunities make great men, here was an opportunity. His character developed, his reputation and usefulness grew, and his health was established.

Quitting Greenbrier, and passing through Wythe Court-house, they "began to bend for Holston." "My mind," says Asbury, "hath been kept in peace; I had enough to do to drive; I could think but little—only now and then sending up a message to heaven." Leaving his chaise with Vanpelt, he borrows a horse, and inducts the presiding elder into wilderness-travels by the way of Bean's Station and Cumberland Gap. At Conference ten traveling preachers were present; the session lasted but two days. Two were admitted on probation, one member located, fourteen local and four traveling preachers were ordained.

After the session Asbury, Whatcoat, and McKendree traveled and preached together from the center of Kentucky to Nashville. On the journey McKendree, in the grand field where he was to develop and which was to be developed by him, located a church in the "barrens," a region rich in soil but scarce of trees. One of his first appointments was to have a local preacher join him there and hold a meeting; "and in the course of the year a society was formed, and a gracious work commenced, and they built a church; but as the timber was low, logs could not be found of sufficient length to build a four-square house large enough to hold the congregation, so they built a house with twelve corners."

Asbury and his company lodged a few miles in the country on Saturday night, where he preached. "Brothers McGee, Sugg, Jones, and Speer, local preachers, came to meet me. We had a

small shout in the camp of Israel." The Rev. William Lambuth was the preacher in charge of Cumberland.* Asbury says:

October 19, 1800.—I rode to Nashville, long heard of but never seen by me until now. Some thought the congregation would be small, but I believed it would be large. Not less than one thousand people were in and out of the stone church, which if floored, ceiled, and glazed, would be a grand house. We had three hours' public exercises. Mr. McKendree upon "The wages of sin is death;" myself on Rom. x. 14, 15; Brother Whatcoat on "When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory." We returned the same evening, and had a night meeting at Mr. Dickinson's.

His old North Carolina friend, and the Gaius of the Church, had moved to the West a year before, and opened a farm twelve miles from Nashville; and he adds: "I had a feeling sight of my dear old friend Green Hill, and his wife. Who would have thought we should ever meet in this distant land? I had not time, as formerly, to go to their house to eat and sleep."

Next day they were in the midst of new scenes—a camp-meeting, at Drake's Creek Meeting-house. It was under the direction of five Presbyterian preachers—Craighead, Hodge, Rankin, McGee, and Adair. "A sacramental solemnity" of four days was being concluded. The visitors were invited to preach. Asbury says: "We came in, and Brother McKendree preached upon Jer. iv. 14; after him Brother Whatcoat upon 'We know that we are of God;' I also spoke on 'The work of God.'"

Tuesday, 21.—Yesterday, and especially during the night, were witnessed scenes of deep interest. In the intervals between preaching the people refreshed themselves and horses, and returned upon the ground. The stand was in the open air, embosomed in a wood of lofty beech-trees. The ministers of God—Methodists and Presbyterians—united their labors, and mingled with the child-like simplicity of primitive times. Fires blazing here and there dispelled the darkness, and the shouts of the redeemed captives, and the cries of precious souls struggling into life, broke the silence of midnight. The weather was delightful—as if heaven smiled, whilst mercy flowed in abundant streams of salvation to perishing sinners. We suppose there were at least thirty souls converted at this meeting. ^arejoice that God is visiting the sons of the Puritans, who are candid enough to acknowledge their obligations to the Methodists.

This is known as the great revival year in the West. No remarkable preacher like Whitefield passed through the land, but

* His son, Rev. John R. Lambuth, built the first Methodist church in Mobile (1827), called in later days the "Old Bee-hive;" and his grandson, Rev. J. W. Lambuth, has been a missionary to China since 1852.

the uncommon work seems to have begun and continued in the use of the common means of grace. Worldliness, immorality, infidelity, were prevalent and powerful. It required a mighty shaking to save the land. To arrest and to impress the public mind a striking display of divine influence was necessary, and the God of all grace was pleased to grant it. Ministers had faithfully preached the word and endured hardness. Sowers had gone forth weeping, bearing precious seed. But immigration brought in an overwhelming population, and new scenes and adventures absorbed the people. Iniquity abounded. When the enemy came in like a flood, then the Lord lifted up a banner. The Church had for years barely been able to hold its own—here standing still and there receding. Power from on high came; feebleness was made strong, and like a conquering army it moved forward. No change in political administration, no turn or opening of the currents of trade or travel, could possibly have such an effect upon the West as this revival. It began within the old Cumberland Circuit, where McHenry and Wilkerson and Page, and others like them, had bestowed much labor. In 1798 William Burke served it alone. He says: "I had not the pleasure of seeing the face of a traveling preacher through the entire year. The circuit had become very large, the country was settling very fast, and many additions to the Church made by certificate. During this year many local preachers settled in the bounds of the circuit: the Rev. John McGee at Dixon Springs, and the Rev. Jesse Walker on White's Creek." Settled within the same territory were three or four earnest Presbyterian preachers, one of whom was the younger brother of John McGee. These two brothers were honored instruments in promoting the revival and uniting the two denominations in it. They were born in Guilford county, North Carolina, of Presbyterian parents. The elder brother became a Methodist preacher, and the younger, converted under his ministry, took orders in the Presbyterian Church; but they continued of one heart and one mind. The Hon. and Rev. Green Hill, a few years before locating in Wilson county, went on a tour through the lower part of the Cumberland Circuit, preaching and baptizing. "At a new town on the south side of Cumberland River, twelve miles below Clarksville," he preached, and says: "I had much liberty in speaking. The people were attentive, and flexible as melted wax. I

nope good was done." Four days later: "We then went up to Winters's (thirteen miles), and I preached to an attentive congregation. Three Baptist preachers and one Presbyterian preacher were present, and all spoke in turn, after I had preached, but without controversy, and parted very affectionately."

It was into this neighborhood that John McGee, with his Presbyterian brother, came on a preaching tour. We give John McGee's account of it:

We loved, and prayed, and preached together; and God was pleased to own and bless us and our labors. In the year 1799 we agreed to make a tour through the Barrens, toward Ohio, and concluded to attend a sacramental solemnity in the Rev. Mr. McGready's congregation, on Red River, in our way. When we came there I was introduced by my brother, and received an invitation to address the congregation from the pulpit; and I know not that ever God favored me with more light and liberty than he did each day while I endeavored to convince the people they were sinners, and urged the necessity of repentance, and of a change from nature to grace, and held up to their view the greatness, freeness, and fullness of salvation, which was in Christ Jesus, for lost, guilty, condemned sinners. My brother and the Rev. Mr. Hodge preached with much animation and liberty. The people felt the force of truth, and tears ran down their cheeks; but all was silent until Monday, the last day of the feast. Mr. Hodge gave a useful discourse; an intermission was given, and I was appointed to preach. While Mr. Hodge was preaching a woman in the east end of the house got an uncommon blessing, broke through order, and shouted for some time, and then sat down in silence. At the close of the sermon Messrs. Hodge, McGready, and Rankin went out of the house; my brother and myself sat still; the people seemed to have no disposition to leave their seats. My brother felt such a power come on him that he quit his seat and sat down on the floor of the pulpit (I suppose, not knowing what he did). A power which caused me to tremble was upon me. There was a solemn weeping all over the house. Having a wish to preach, I strove against my feelings; at length I rose up and told the people that I was appointed to preach, but there was a greater than I preaching, and exhorted them to let the Lord God Omnipotent reign in their hearts, and to submit to him, and their souls should live. Many broke silence; the woman in the east end of the house shouted tremendously. I left the pulpit to go to her, and as I went along through the people it was suggested to me, "You know these people are much for order, they will not bear this confusion; go back and be quiet." I turned to go back, and was near falling. The power of God was strong upon me; I turned again, and losing sight of the fear of man, I went through the house shouting and exhorting with all possible ecstasy and energy, and the floor was soon covered with the slain. Their cries for mercy pierced the heavens, and mercy came down. Some found forgiveness, and many went away from that meeting feeling unutterable agonies of soul for redemption in the blood of Jesus. This was the beginning of that glorious revival of religion in this country which was so great a blessing to thousands; and from this meeting camp-meetings took their rise. One man, for want of horses for all his family to ride and attend the meeting, fixed up his wagon, in which he took them and his

provisions, and lived on the ground throughout the meeting. He had left his worldly cares behind him, and had nothing to do but attend on divine service.

The next meeting was a camp-meeting. A number of wagons loaded with people came together and camped on the ground, and the Lord was present and approved of their zeal by sealing a pardon to about forty souls. The next camp-meeting was on the Ridge, where there was an increase of people, and carriages of different descriptions, and a great many preachers of the Presbyterian and Methodist orders, and some of the Baptist—but the latter were generally opposed to the work. Preaching commenced, and the people prayed, and the power of God attended. The nights were truly awful. The camp-ground was well illuminated; the people were differently exercised—some exhorting, some shouting, some praying, and some crying for mercy, while others lay as dead men on the ground. At this meeting it was computed that one hundred souls were converted. But perhaps the greatest meeting we ever witnessed in this country took place shortly after, on Desha's Creek, near Cumberland River. Many thousands of people attended. The mighty power and mercy of God were manifested. The people fell before the word like corn before a storm of wind, and many rose from the dust with divine glory shining in their countenances, and gave glory to God in such strains as made the hearts of stubborn sinners to tremble; and after the first gust of praise, they would break forth in volleys of exhortation.

Camp-meetings grew out of the revival, and became a means of prolonging and extending it. Originally designed to meet the wants of a sparsely settled country, and to make a small supply of preaching go as far as possible, there is a principle which makes them useful to other communities. The moral and religious power of association, cessation from labor, abstraction of mind and body from home-life and its cares, concentrated attention to one thing, and that the most important of all things, for days together, under circumstances most favorable for instruction and exhortation—these have commended the camp-meeting to old and dense communities, and made it a religious institution of our current century. From the wagon-cover and rude arbor with fresh-scented leaves, located where there is much water for man and beast; from the straw-floored tent and pine-knot fire-stand, camp-meetings, in many places, have come to represent taste and comfort, and even luxury, in their structures and arrangements. In this direction lies their danger. They may be useful still, but their golden days date back to virgin forests and new settlements, when men came to the preaching at a time the preaching could not go to them.

From Tennessee through Southern Kentucky the revival spread until 1801, when its marvels were seen and felt in middle Kentucky; and with rudely improvised camp-meetings the scene

extended into the North-west, and moved eastward. By 1802 camp-meetings were established east of the mountains, and from New England to Mississippi have continued to this day. Tens of thousands were awakened and converted; scoffers were strangely rebuked; fear fell upon the people, and many fled to escape yielding. In America, as in England, bodily agitations and exercises attended spiritual excitement, and were equally an offense to some and a wonder to all.* In this respect no localities in the West exceeded those in which Presbyterian ministers were settled. William Burke describes a quarterly-meeting for Lexington Circuit, in June, 1801: "On Saturday we had some indications of a good work. On Saturday night we had preaching in different parts of the neighborhood, which was the custom; so that every local preacher and exhorter was employed in the work. Success attended the meetings, and on Sunday morning they came in companies, singing and shouting on the road. Love-feast was opened Sunday morning at eight o'clock, and such was the power and presence of God that the doors were thrown open, and the work became general, and continued till Monday afternoon, during which time numbers experienced justification by faith in the name of Jesus Christ. The work now spread into the several circuits. Presbyterian congregations were universally wakened up—McNamer's, on Cabin Creek; Barton Stone's, at Cane Ridge; Reynolds's, in Paris; Lyle's, at Salem; Rankin's, at Walnut Hills; Blythe's, at Lexington and Woodford; Walsh's, at Cane Run."

A well known-writer of Kentucky, in the *Methodist Magazine* of sixty years ago, describes the advent of the revival:

The Rev. Wm. McKendree, presiding elder of the district, was in the lower part of the State about the commencement of the revival, and became much engaged in it. In the latter part of 1800, or early in 1801, he came up to the center of the State, and in many places was the first to bear the tidings of these singular meetings, which had recently commenced, and had so greatly attracted the attention of multitudes. I shall never forget the looks of the people who had assembled in a congregation composed mostly of Methodists and Presbyterians, and their adherents, when, after the conclusion of a pathetic sermon, he gave an interesting statement of the progress of it from what he had seen. Whilst he spoke the very sensations of his soul glowed in his countenance. He described them in their native simplicity: he told of the happy conversion of hundreds; how the people continued in their exercises of singing, praying, and preaching on the ground, surrounded by wagons and tents, for days and nights together; that many were so

* See pages 158-161 for an explanation of these phenomena.

affected that they fell to the ground like men slain in battle. The cries of the penitents and rapture of the healed appeared to be brought to our view; and that the work, instead of declining, was progressing to the interior. After this description given by him, it was unnecessary to exhort the faithful to look for the like among themselves. Their hearts had already begun to beat in unison with his, whilst sinners were generally melted into tears. As for my own feelings, though a stranger to religion at that time, they will never be forgotten—I felt, and I wept.

These meetings began, as the season permitted, to make their gradual approach toward the center of the State. It was wonderful to see what an effect their approach made upon the minds of the people. Here in the wilderness were thousands and tens of thousands hungry for the bread of life. A general move was visible in the congregations previously to the arrival of these meetings. The devout Christians appeared to be filled with hope. Their hearts were greatly enlarged to pray for the prosperity of Zion. The formalists were troubled with very uneasy sensations; backsliders became terrified; the wicked in general were either greatly alarmed or struck with solemn awe. Indeed, such was the commotion that every circle of the community appeared to have their whole attention arrested. Many were the conjectures respecting these meetings. Things, however, did not continue long to keep the attention of the people in suspense. The camp-meetings began to approach nearer and nearer to the center; one meeting after another was appointed in succession; and the number that attended them is almost incredible to tell. When collected on the ground, and whilst the meetings continued, such crowds would be passing and repassing that the roads, paths, and woods appeared to be literally strewn with people. Whole settlements and neighborhoods would appear to be vacated; and such was the draught from them that it was only here and there that a solitary house would contain an aged house-keeper—young and old generally pressing through every difficulty to see the camp-meeting.

The Presbyterians and Methodists now united in them; hence it was that they took the name of General Camp-meetings. In consequence of so great a collection of people, it frequently happened that several preachers would be speaking at once. Nor were they at a loss for pulpits—stumps and logs served as temporary stands from which to dispense the word of life. At night the whole scene was awfully sublime.*

At Cabin Creek and Point Pleasant were memorable scenes. The meeting at Indian Creek, Kentucky, began on the 24th of July, and continued five days. The general camp-meeting, held at Cane Ridge, seven miles from Paris, Bourbon county, began on the 6th day of August, and continued a week. The Rev. Barton W Stone, a leading Presbyterian minister in Kentucky, describes certain phenomena that prevailed: “The bodily agitations or exercises attending the excitement in the beginning of this century were various, and called by various names: as the falling exercise,

* *Methodist Magazine*, Vol. II., pp. 221–273.

the jerks, the dancing exercise, the laughing exercise, and so on. The falling exercise was very common among all classes—the saints and sinners of every age and grade, from the philosopher to the clown. The subject of this exercise would generally, with a piercing scream, fall like a log on the floor or earth, and appear as dead.” And “of thousands of similar cases” he gives specimens. The “jerks” sometimes affected the whole body, sometimes a part of the body. The same writer and eye-witness continues:

When the head alone was affected, it would be jerked backward and forward or from side to side, so quickly that the features of the face could not be distinguished. When the whole system was affected, I have seen the person stand in one place and jerk backward and forward in quick succession, the head nearly touching the floor behind and before. All classes—saints and sinners, the strong as well as the weak—were thus affected. I have inquired of those thus affected if they could not account for it, but some have told me that those were among the happiest seasons of their lives. I have seen some wicked persons thus affected, and all the time cursing the jerks, while they were thrown to the earth with violence. Though so awful to behold, I do not remember that any one of the thousands I have seen thus affected ever sustained any injury in body. This was as strange as the exercise itself.

The laughing exercise was frequent, confined solely to the religious. It was a loud, hearty laughter, but it excited laughter in none that saw it. The subject appeared rapturously solemn, and his laughter excited solemnity in saints and sinners. It was truly indescribable.

The running exercise was nothing more than that persons feeling something of these bodily agitations, through fear attempted to run away, and thus escape from them; but it commonly happened that they ran not far before they fell, where they became so agitated that they could not proceed any farther.

I knew a young physician, of a celebrated family, who came some distance to a big meeting to see the strange things he had heard of. He and a young lady had sportively agreed to watch over and take care of each other if either should fall. At length the physician felt something very uncommon, and started from the congregation to run into the woods. He was discovered running as for life, but did not proceed far before he fell down, and there lay until he submitted to the Lord, and afterward became a zealous member of the Church. Such cases were common.

“Thus have I,” says Mr. Stone, “given a brief account of the wonderful things that appeared in the great excitement in the beginning of this century. That there were many eccentricities and much fanaticism in this excitement was acknowledged by its warmest advocates; indeed, it would have been a wonder if such things had not appeared in the circumstances of that time. Yet the good effects were seen and acknowledged in every neigh-

borhood and among the different sects. It silenced contention and promoted unity for awhile." *

McKendree's presence in the West at this time was opportune. He not only promoted the revival, in every healthful aspect, but guided the Church safely and to the best issues in the midst of its scenes. The floods were out. Methodism spread all sail, and was stronger in numbers and in every other respect from that blessed day forward. The union between Methodists and Presbyterians for coöperation was not allowed to end in disintegration. This union extended to several things, including joint committees empowered to make regulations and to appoint preachers for the camp-meetings and sacramental occasions. McKendree took care that its termination should be without odium or loss. The peculiarities of Methodist usages and doctrines he firmly maintained—class-meetings and love-feasts with closed doors, and itinerant preaching; and where they had been suspended or had faded out, he brought them into position again.† The Presbyterian confederates fared not so well.

Methodism has been defined "a missionary Church in organization, and a revival Church in spirit." It was therefore well adapted to the revival—its scenes and situation. The doctrines that were preached in the revival were Methodist: universal redemption; free salvation, full salvation, present salvation; justification by faith; regeneration by the Holy Ghost; the witness of the Holy Spirit that the believer is born of God; the joy of religion, which is the fruit of the Spirit; and to-day is the day of salvation. The methods were Methodist: the presiding elder marshaled his hosts at given points; the system of Church-government furnished a leader, and the off-hand, extemporaneous style of the pulpit was all in place. Hence camp-meetings were continued, and have become a Methodist peculiarity and

* Early Times in Middle Tennessee, pp. 70-75. † Our McKendree's advice to preachers and people was: "Hold fast to your doctrine and discipline. Others may get along without rule, but we cannot." This was wholesome and seasonable advice, and was attended to. It gave offense to some, but was a means of keeping us together, and we prospered. But, mournful to tell, those who got above creeds, forms, and confessions, while they professed to be Christians, went from one extreme to another, till three of their most zealous and flaming ministers (Presbyterian) landed in Shakerism; one, if not more, became an Arian; one, at least, went among the Christ-ians; and the rest held fast, or returned to, their Confession of Faith. (H. Smith's Recollections of an Old Itinerant, pp. 59, 60.)

possession. But there was an unusual strain on the other party. Barton W. Stone afterward united with the followers of Alexander Campbell, and Rankin, with two other Presbyterian ministers, joined the Quakers. Among the members were Marshallites and Stoneites: some who affected uncommon zeal denounced confessions of faith, Church discipline, and all such things. The Arminian tendency of the Cumberland Presbytery, and their refusal to withhold license from preachers who were useful and acceptable to the community, but were not classically educated, brought about a serious and permanent division of the Presbyterian Church, and resulted in the organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. "But," says an actor in those times, "amidst these convulsions in the religious community, the Methodists kept on the even tenor of their way, adhering to their discipline, and teaching that system of doctrine which was not only the popular but the useful doctrine in the revival."

When the Western Conference met at Strother's, near Gallatin, Tennessee, Oct. 2, 1802, Asbury was present, but too feeble to preach. He says: "I was able to ordain, by employing Brother McKendree to examine those who were presented, and to station the preachers." Two men of mark were admitted on trial—Jesse Walker and James Gwin. The work had so enlarged that it was found necessary to divide the one district into three: the Holston District, with John Watson; and the Cumberland, with John Page, as presiding elders. McKendree remained on the Kentucky District. The Bishop being very infirm, and suffering from long rides on horseback, McKendree accompanied him on his return through East Tennessee. Asbury's journal speaks of his kindness on this trip, and frequently alludes to his preaching. "Brother McKendree made me a tent of his own and John Watson's blankets, and happily saved me from taking cold, while I slept about two hours under my grand marquee. Brother McKendree threw his cloak over the limb of a tree, and he and his companion took shelter underneath and slept also. I think I will never more brave the wilderness without a tent." After some time he adds: "I have been sick for twenty-three days—ah, the tale of woe I might relate! My dear McKendree had to lift me up and down from my horse, like a helpless child. For my sickness and suffering, I conceive I am indebted to sleeping uncovered in the wilderness."

At the Conference, October, 1803, near Cynthiana, Bishop Asbury found it necessary to form a new district north-west of the Ohio River, with William Burke as presiding elder, embracing the extensive territory along the waters of the Muskingum, the Little Kanawha, Hockhocking, Scioto, Miami, and Guyandotte rivers. The Western Conference again met at Gerizim, in Northern Kentucky, October, 1804. The failure of the Bishops to reach the Conference devolved upon the body the election of its president, and McKendree performed the duties of the office. Several preachers were admitted on trial who subsequently attained notoriety. Among them were Samuel Parker, the sweet singer in Israel, and a fine specimen of "nature's noblemen" improved by divine grace—we shall meet with him in Mississippi, and find his grave there; Peter Cartwright, a fearless, strong, rough, and ready man; Miles Harper, a man of fine order of mind by nature—a revivalist, and of great physical capacity to sustain the labor of the saddle, the pulpit, and the altar; James Axley, of rugged strength and candor, but withal devoted and kind; and Thomas Lasley, whose missionary footsteps are yet seen, with Axley's, in South-western Louisiana.

The Cumberland District fell to McKendree the next year, and he continued on it till the year 1808. He traveled from Nashville through Kentucky and Illinois to Missouri, a distance of fifteen hundred miles, in order to pass round and through his district. Among the agents and helpers by which he developed it two men deserve special mention. Jesse Walker was a Church Extension Society within himself. One who knew him and his work gives this description:

In all my intercourse with Bishop McKendree, there was no man whose name was more frequently mentioned by him than Jesse Walker. He was to the Church what Daniel Boone was to the early settler—always first, always ahead of everybody else, preceding all others long enough to be the pilot of the new-comer. Brother Walker is found first in Davidson county, Tennessee. He lived within about three miles of the then village of Nashville, and was at that time a man of family, poor, and to a considerable extent without education. He was sent by the bishops and presiding elders in every direction where new work was to be cut out. His natural vigor was almost superhuman. He did not seem to require food and rest as other men; no day's journey was long enough to tire him, no fare too poor for him to live upon; to him, in traveling, roads and paths were useless things—he blazed out his own course; no way was too bad for him to travel—if his horse could not carry him he led him, and when his horse could not follow he would leave him and take it on foot; and if night and a cabriolet did not come to-

gether, he would pass the night alone in the wilderness, which with him was no uncommon occurrence. Looking up the frontier settler was his chief delight; and he found his way through hill and brake as by instinct—he was never lost; and, as Bishop McKendree once said of him, in addressing an Annual Conference, he never complained; and as the Church moved West and North, it seemed to bear Walker before it. Every time you would hear from him, he was still farther on; and when the settlements of the white man seemed to take shape and form, he was next heard of among the Indian tribes of the North-west.*

Rev. James Gwin is a prominent figure in Western Methodism. He settled on the Cumberland in time to receive Barnabas McHenry into his cabin, and with his wife joined the Church at his first meeting. When a "horse load of books and pamphlets abusing Methodist bishops and Methodist government" were sent into the settlement to support Haw's alliance with O'Kelleyism, he remained unmoved. A soldierly man, six feet high, with a strong face and brave heart, Gwin was in the expedition of 1798 that broke up the Cherokee pirates at Nickajack and freed the navigation of the Tennessee from Indian perils. He was one of General Jackson's chaplains at the Battle of New Orleans, and Jackson, who had a very great esteem for him, put him in charge of the wounded and of the hospital. Let us see James Gwin's account of these times:

Brother McKendree, having been appointed to the charge of the Western work, soon formed a plan to carry the gospel to every neighborhood. He employed as many local preachers and exhorters as he could to visit the uncultivated regions; and they went forth, and the Lord went with them, and the tidings of salvation were soon heard in almost every settlement. As I commenced about this time to speak in public he sent me to visit new settlements, and I continued preaching from place to place until our Conference came on; then I was received into the traveling connection on trial. The business of Jesse Walker and myself, who were received at the same time, was to enlarge the work. Brother Walker went on forming circuits west and north until he reached the Ohio River, and Brother McKendree devised a plan to carry the gospel west of the Ohio to the Mississippi River. And as Louisiana had been purchased and brought into our government, he sent Brothers Walker and Lewis Garrett to make a trial in that region, where they soon succeeded in planting the standard of the cross.

September, 1806, Bishop Asbury's journal says: "Saturday, 20th, Western Conference began, and ended on Monday. There are fourteen hundred added within the bounds of this Conference—fifty-five preachers stationed, all pleased. The brethren were in want, so I parted with my watch, my coat, and my shirt."

*A. L. P. Green, D.D., Biographical Sketches.

Having reconnoitered the frontier, and sent Jesse Walker to Illinois and John Travis to Missouri, McKendree follows them. This narrative of his tour is by James Gwin:

In the year 1807, Brother McKendree, A. Goddard, and myself, set out to visit the settlements of Illinois. We crossed the Ohio River, took the wilderness, and traveled until night. Not being able to get to any habitation, we camped out. Brother McKendree made us some tea, and we lay down under the branches of a friendly beech, and had a pleasant night's rest. Next morning we set out early, traveled hard, and got some distance into the prairie, and here we took up for the night. The next night we reached the first settlement, tarried a day there, and crossing Kaskaskia River lodged with an old Brother Scott. Here we met with Jesse Walker, who had formed a circuit and had three camp-meetings appointed for us. After resting a few days, we set out for the first camp-meeting. In twelve miles we reached the Mississippi River, and having no means of taking our horses across we sent them back, crossed the river, and, with our baggage on our shoulders, went to the camp-ground, having fallen in with Brother Travis on the way. About forty were converted at this meeting.

From this camp-meeting we returned across the river to Judge S——'s, who refreshed us and sent forward our baggage in a cart to Brother Garrettson's, where our next meeting was to be held, which was called the Three Springs. We arrived on Friday morning on the camp-ground, which was situated in a beautiful grove surrounded by a prairie. A considerable congregation had collected, for the news of the other meeting had gone abroad and produced much excitement. Some were in favor of the work, and others were opposed to it. A certain major had raised a "company of lewd fellows of the baser sort" to drive us from the ground. On Saturday, while I was preaching, the major and his company rode into the congregation and halted, which produced confusion and alarm. I stopped preaching for a moment and invited them to be off with themselves, and they retired to the spring for a fresh drink of brandy. The major said he had heard of these Methodists before; that they always broke up the peace of the people wherever they went; that they preached against horse-racing, card-playing, and every other kind of amusement. At three o'clock, while Brother Goddard and I were singing a hymn, an awful sense of the divine power fell on the congregation, when a man with a terrified look ran to me and said, "Are you the man that keeps the roll?" I asked him what roll. "That roll," he replied, "that people put their names to who are going to heaven." I supposed he meant the class-paper, and sent him to Brother Walker. Turning to Jesse Walker, he said, "Put my name down, if you please," and then fell to the ground. Others started to run off and fell; some escaped. We were busy in getting the fallen to one place, which we effected about sunset, when the man who wished his name on the roll arose and ran off like a wild beast. Looking round upon the scene reminded me of a battle-field after a heavy battle. All night the struggle went on. Victory was on the Lord's side; many were converted, and by sunrise next morning there was a shout of a king in the camp. It was Sabbath morning, and I thought it the most beautiful morning I had ever seen. A little after sunrise, the man that had run off came back, wet with the dews of the night and with strong symptoms of derangement. At eleven o'clock Brother McKendree administered the holy

sacrament, and while he was dwelling upon its origin, nature, and design, some of the major's company were affected, and we had a melting time. After sacrament, Brother McKendree preached, all the principal men of the country, and all in reach who could get there, being present. His text was, "Come, let us reason-together;" and perhaps no man ever managed the subject better, or with more effect. His reasoning on the atonement, the great plan of salvation, and the love of God, was so clear and strong, and was delivered with such pathos, that the congregation involuntarily arose to their feet and pressed toward him from all parts. While he was preaching he very ingeniously adverted to the conduct of the major, and remarked, "We are Americans, and some of us have fought for our liberty, and have come here to teach men the way to heaven." This seemed to strike the major, and he became friendly, and has remained so ever since.

This was a great day. The work became general—the place was awful, and many souls were born of God. Among the rest was our wild man. His history is a peculiar one. He lived in the American Bottom, had a fine estate, and was a professed deist. He told us that a few nights before we passed his house he dreamed that the day of judgment was at hand, and that three men had come from the East to warn the people to prepare for it; that so soon as he saw us he became alarmed, believing we were those men; and having ascertained who we were, he came to the camp-meeting. He became a reformed and good man.

The third camp-meeting was held, and on the last day one hundred joined the Church.

McKendree has also left a concise reference to this tour, in which he notices the following facts: The camp-meeting they attended across the Mississippi River, in the present State of Missouri, was the first meeting of the kind ever held on the north-west of the Mississippi River, and they walked about forty miles in getting to it. He further says: "Four Sabbaths excepted, I have attended popular meetings every week since the beginning of February, in which time I have ridden about two thousand seven hundred miles through the wilderness to the Illinois and back, spent considerable time in the most sickly part of that and this country, and yet, blessed be God, my health and strength have been preserved." This trip occupied about two months, and was the commencement of a glorious revival across the Ohio, and upon both sides of the Mississippi.

With such men, led by the wise and holy and far-seeing McKendree, the cause must triumph. In St. Louis and Chicago, Jesse Walker planted Methodism. He died in 1835, a member of the Illinois Conference. James Gwin, in later life, after preaching on Nashville Station and District, was for a long time pastor of the colored congregation of the city. He removed to Mississippi, and from that Conference received the Master's dis-

charge. He was strong and original. Once a junior colleague, observing that he read but little and at the same time had to preach every Sunday to a large and intelligent congregation, talked to him on the subject, remarking that he could not see how he was to sustain himself without reading. "He heard me through," said the junior, "without manifesting the least displeasure, and answered by saying: 'You little fellows cannot learn any thing until somebody else finds it out first and puts it in a book, then you can learn it; but I know it before it goes in a book—I know what they make books out of.' And so he did."

It is time to glance at the progress of the cause in the Southwest. On landing at Natchez, in the spring of the year,* Tobias Gibson bought a horse to replace the one he had sold on the Cumberland when setting out on the long canoe voyage, and explored the settlements as far up as Walnut Hills, near the site of Vicksburg. After visiting and preaching awhile in private houses he organized his first church, according to previous notice. It was at the village of Washington, the seat of territorial government, six miles east of Natchez, in a school-house. Having preached an instructive sermon, he proposed to receive candidates for membership. The missionary sung the hymn of invitation with a melody of voice peculiar to himself, and awaited the result. Randall Gibson came forward and his wife, Henrietta; then came Caleb Worley, a young man of Western Pennsylvania, who had known something of Methodism in the Youghiogheny Valley; next, Mrs. Edna Bullen, sister of Randall Gibson; and next, William Foster and Rachel, his wife; and last came a negro slave and his wife—eight in all.

Randall Gibson was a wealthy and leading man, a kinsman of the preacher. Foster proved to be the model steward, and at his house the first session of the Mississippi Conference was held some years later. They both established family worship and led in public prayers. Randall Gibson was the model class-leader, and the first local preacher licensed. His character was elevated, his influence great and pure, and his ministry extensively useful. All of these few souls, who there entered the ark of Christ's

*Our best historian of South-western Methodism, Rev. John G. Jones, says Tobias Gibson arrived in the spring of 1799. Among other proofs, the family Bible shows that the parents of the author—Jonathan Jones and Phœbe Griffing—were married by him in October following.—*MS. History.*

Church, lived to old age, and honored their profession, saved themselves, and helped to save others.

The work was enlarging, his health was failing, help was needed, and Tobias Gibson resolved what to do. If he wrote a letter, it might be miscarried; and if it reached the Conference it would be only a letter from a stranger. He would go himself and plead his cause, and then conduct the new helper to his field. In September, 1802, he took the Natchez trace on horseback alone, and made the four hundred mile trip through the wilderness to attend the Western Conference at Strother's.* He had not shaken the hand nor seen the face of an itinerant in four years. Asbury embraced him and blessed him, and sent back with him Moses Floyd, a young Georgian, who had been in the ministry three years. The return trip was not so solitary. Next year stronger reasons impelled Tobias Gibson to attend Conference. He felt that his end was approaching, and with great desire he desired to see the Church provided for before he departed. Again he was on the Natchez trace for a longer journey, for the Western Conference met near Cynthiana, Kentucky, and he appeared before his brethren in great feebleness. Asbury put his arms about him and strengthened him. Hezekiah Hariman and Abram Amos returned with him—the former had seen service in Maryland and Tennessee, the latter was a new recruit. The following spring Tobias Gibson finished his course with joy. From Walnut Hills to West Florida the sad news soon spread, and a profound sorrow was on the hearts of the people.

* Besides the water route, following the eastern tributaries of the Mississippi River to the Father of Waters and floating down to the point of debarkation, there were three land routes—mere horse-paths—opened through the Indian country to Natchez and other settlements on the Lower Mississippi. These were maintained by the Government for mail routes, by treaty stipulations with the Indian tribes. The first began at Nashville, and crossed the Tennessee River at Colbert's ferry, below the Muscle Shoals; thence through the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation to the Grindstone Ford on Bayou Pierre, ending at Natchez and Fort Adams. The second began at Knoxville, and passed through the Cherokee Nation by way of the Tellico and Tombigbee rivers to Natchez. The third was from the Oconee settlements, in Georgia, through the Creek Nation across the Alabama River in the direction of St. Steven's, on westwardly to Natchez. The traders of the Upper Mississippi River and its tributaries, who brought down their produce in flat-boats, were accustomed to return on foot or horseback by the first route—called the Nashville and Natchez trace—and hence it became best known (MS. History of Rev. J. G. Jones.)

Tobias Gibson was in the thirty-fifth year of his age. He is represented "as tall and spare, with fair complexion, light hair, and piercing black eyes, and was considered handsome. The expression of his countenance, the cast of his conversation, and his general deportment in private life, were affectionate, but grave and solemn. As one of his converts remarked, 'He seldom smiled, but often wept, especially in his public exercises.' " * His manners were such as mark true culture of soul as well as of society, and his preaching was instructive and pathetic. "There were but few who placed themselves under his pastoral care," says the well-informed historian of that day, "that did not soon profess faith in Christ. A large proportion of both sexes of the societies which he raised and instructed would lead in prayer when called on in class and prayer meeting. He was a sweet singer, and there was such a general improvement in this respect that the converts under his ministry literally had a new song put into their mouths. His candor was softened by courtesy, and such was his character for piety and charity that a personal contest with him would have been looked upon as discreditable to any man." † Tobias Gibson contracted a matrimonial engagement with one of his flock not long before he was completely prostrated by the insidious disease that terminated his earthly existence. He had received her, with most of her father's family, into the Church soon after he came to the country, and had watched with increasing interest her growth in piety and zeal in the service of God; but the friends of both parties, seeing he was in a hopeless consumption, advised them not to consummate the engagement, to which they reluctantly but judiciously and piously consented. Their last conversation on the subject was said to have been full of the tenderest emotions, but beautified with Christian dignity and enlivened with mutual pledges to meet each other in heaven. This proved to be their final parting on earth. He preached his last sermon on New-year's-day, in 1804, which was made a blessing to many, and retired to the house of a relative to die. The young lady, visiting a friend in another part of the Territory, was taken sick and died about the same time. "And so," says the historian, "their reunion in the heavenly world was much sooner than they anticipated at their painful parting." ‡

* MS. History of Rev. J. G. Jones. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

Learner Blackman was sent by William McKendree from the Western Conference of 1804 to take charge of Methodism in Mississippi. It was the first Conference McKendree ever presided over, and he never made a better appointment. Blackman took with him Nathan Barnes, who had concluded a good year's work on the Scioto Circuit. What had been a circuit he developed in 1806, by wise planning and incessant preaching and traveling, into a district with three circuits, having their base on the river, and reaching out, as far as the settlements extended, toward Alabama and Florida—the Natchez Circuit, with Wilkinson on the south and Claibourne on the north, to which the Opelousas Circuit, in South-western Louisiana, was added. The Mississippi District was continued under the presidency of Blackman, in 1807, with the addition of Ouachita (Washita) Circuit, in the northern part of Louisiana. This captain of the Lord's host now held positions on both sides of the river; and by crossing and recrossing the wilderness to the sessions of the Western Conference, and representing the case to Bishop Asbury, he had brought to his help such men as Lasley, Bowman, and Axley, of whose work we shall have more to say.

A session of the Western Conference in September, 1807, at Chillicothe, fifty miles north of the Ohio River, means progress. Asbury reached it from New England by traveling through Schenectady, Geneva, and Tioga—on through Western Pennsylvania—attending camp-meetings and holding ordinations along the way: then entered Kentucky, not by the old route of the Crab Orchard and Cumberland Gap. The scene has changed. He says: "There were thirteen preachers added, and we found an addition of two thousand two hundred members to the Society in these bounds; seven deacons were elected and ordained, and ten elders; two preachers only located; sixty-six were stationed."

Learner Blackman was present, reporting the Mississippi District with five circuits—three on the east and two on the west side of the river, with three hundred and thirty-five white and eighty colored members. He then concluded a horseback journey of sixteen hundred miles to see his parents in New Jersey, and took final leave of them with manly tears. He and they desired a field nearer home, but the Church required his services elsewhere, and to the West he returned and there ended his noble life. Crossing the Ohio, in 1815, he was drowned.

Eleven delegates were chosen to represent Western Methodism in the General Conference of 1808, to meet at Baltimore. Of course William McKendree led the delegation. He returned to the East after eight years of memorable work. He had found the Western Conference with one district and left it with five; with two thousand three hundred and seven white members, and one hundred and seventy-seven colored, and left it with fifteen thousand two hundred and two white members, and seven hundred and ninety-five colored. Let us consider this Christian chieftain, as represented by those who knew him well. He led a band of tried men. It was not his plan to say "Go," but "Come;" and a more heroic band never lived than those who followed the standard borne in triumph by William McKendree. He was mighty in the Scriptures, and had the anointing of the Spirit. He had obeyed well, and he governed well. As a man of order, he was faultless: every thing was in its place, and all things were done at the proper time. There was no coldness, coarseness, or selfishness about him. Without effort, he found his way to the confidence and esteem of every one, old and young, black and white, rich and poor. He was five feet ten inches in height, weighing about one hundred and sixty pounds. He had fair skin, dark hair, and blue eyes that kindled when he spoke. When in his prime, his form was a model, possessing extraordinary action and great physical strength. His features, taken as a whole, were decidedly good; his bearing was modest, yet most impressive. "When he appeared on a camp-ground," says an old comrade, "he naturally took command: all yielded him deference." "His perceptive organs were perfect. He saw every thing that came in sight—nothing passed him unnoticed. His mind had no dark surfaces or blunt edges. His intellect was bright, and his thoughts diamond-pointed. He never said foolish things—never weak, never even common things." All his time and all his powers were consecrated to God.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

General Conferences of 1804 and 1808—Demand for a Delegated Body—Camp meetings in the East—Prosperity—Bishop Whatcoat's Death—McKendree Elected—Joshua Soule Brings in a Plan for a Delegated General Conference Its Defeat; Its Adoption—Death of Bishop Coke; His Burial at Sea.

A FEELING of insecurity with regard to Church order, united with a growing inconvenience and inequality in the attendance upon General Conference, suggested a change in the composition and powers of that body. Though since 1800 limited to the elders, whenever it met it had absolute authority, and by the vote of a bare majority could at any time change the doctrines or the economy of the Church.

It was impossible for the distant Conferences to be present in full force, and already they had begun to appoint delegates to represent them. The General Conference meeting in Baltimore, the controlling power was necessarily placed in the hands of the elders in the central parts. There is no list of preachers in attendance until 1804, when it appears that of one hundred and eight present, thirty-seven are from Philadelphia Conference, and thirty from Baltimore; giving these two Conferences almost two-thirds of the body.*

In 1800 a proposition that there should be a delegated General Conference was promptly negatived. It was negatived in 1804, with the understanding that the subject might be considered by the Annual Conferences and brought, with matured suggestions, before the next General Conference. Too much legislation, hasty and radical measures, and unequal representation, might thus be avoided, and the polity and doctrinal integrity of the Church be secured, under constitutional provisions.

The General Conference of 1804 met at a time of religious prosperity. The year before had added over seventeen thousand members—a larger number than any previous year had witnessed. Camp-meetings and revivals of great power prevailed,

* Number of elders present from the several Annual Conferences, in the General Conference of 1804: From the Western Conference, 3; South Carolina Conference, 5; Virginia Conference, 17; Baltimore Conference, 30; Philadelphia Conference, 37; New York Conference, 12; New England Conference, 4. Total 108 Bishops, 3. Total of elders and bishops, 111.

and the historian of the time says "our ministers and people throughout the Connection were uncommonly devoted to God, and much engaged to promote his cause." The Journal shows that the Discipline was examined, paragraph by paragraph, from beginning to end. Amendments were suggested, and a vote was taken on each section. A rule was adopted that the bishops should allow the Annual Conferences to sit a week at least, and that they should not permit any preacher to remain in the same station or circuit more than two years successively.

The year before he was made presiding elder McKendree was on four circuits, serving each one quarter. Annual change was the rule, but some preachers had been appointed to the same place for three years, and the disposition for extended accommodation was growing. This rule was a relief to the bishops; for if preachers are to be moved the law must keep them movable. At this Conference it was ordered to print the Discipline in two parts—the first to be called the spiritual, and the second the temporal part, and "that the first part of the Discipline should be published alone, for the benefit of the black people in the South who are members of our Society and taught to read."

The hard rule until this time was that if any member married with an unawakened person, he or she should be expelled from the Church; but it was now modified: instead of being expelled the offender was "put back on trial." An incident, the like of which occurred in apostolic times if we may judge from Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, doubtless helped to bring about this modification. A godly woman having entered into matrimonial alliance contrary to the canon was on trial for the same. She could not repent of the act, and the sanctifying effect of her example and influence upon the miserable sinner that her husband had been was known and read of all the community. While the Society was in a dilemma about executing the law the husband stood without, and sent in a message that if he might be allowed to do so he would join the Church with his wife. And so the matter ended.

The *quadrennium* from 1803 to 1807 was remarkable for revivals in the East, as the former four years had been in the West. Asbury's journal has this reckoning and this longing: "Our total for the year 1803 is 104,070 members. In 1771 there were about 300 Methodists in New York, 250 in Philadelphia, and a

few in New Jersey. I then longed for 100,000; now I want 200,000—nay, thousands upon thousands.” Some extracts from Lee’s History will show the spirit of those times:

The Lord was pleased to favor the people in Georgia in 1803 with an uncommon prosperous time in religion, and many souls were brought to God at public and at private meetings. At the quarterly-meetings on Broad River and in Appalachie circuits there were about thirty or forty converted at each place. The quarterly-meeting at Harris’s Chapel, in Washington county, was remarkably favored with the presence of the Lord. Conversions were clear and powerful, and not many short of one hundred professed converting grace at that time.

There was a general camp-meeting in Warren county. The ground was opened in an oblong form, having the meeting-house in the middle. On the second day souls were converted to God, and the work spread through the assembly. It was thought that as many as one hundred souls were converted. Indeed, Georgia has been a great place for religion from that day to this, and old professors have generally been very lively in religion.

In South Carolina religion gained ground, and in many places it might be said to be all in a flame.

In North Carolina the work of the Lord spread greatly, and was known both among saints and sinners. A short account of the camp-meetings in the lower part of that State says: “At the first camp-meeting I suppose there were twenty-seven converted; several at the second and third, about ten at the fourth, and about sixty-seven at the last.”

There was a gracious reformation and many converted in the city of Middletown, Connecticut, in the course of the summer and fall of the year. A number of the inhabitants went from the city by water down the river to what they called a kind of field-meeting, where the work began, and several were awakened, and converted as they returned home. From that time the work revived.

In the latter part of the summer (1804) there was a camp-meeting held low down in Virginia, near the town of Suffolk, where the power and presence of God were wonderfully displayed. The meeting began on Friday, and continued without little intermission until Monday night, in which time it was thought that three or four hundred persons were converted to God. The accounts from that meeting appear to be incredible to those who were not present, but those who were eye and ear witnesses think it to be too great to be sufficiently described.

During this year Stith Mead labored among the people of Bedford, Amherst, and Campbell counties, and a few other places, where the Lord greatly owned his labors in the gospel. He gives an account of upward of eleven hundred who were converted at the meetings where he was, in the course of six months. It appeared as if the kingdoms of this world would soon become the kingdom of the Lord and of his Christ. These camp-meetings were the first that had ever been held in that part of Virginia. Lynchburg greatly shared in this revival.

The years 1805 and 1806 were prosperous, and the work of God was carried on in many places in an uncommon manner, both in the conversion and sanctification of souls. “Most of the United States,” says Lee, “were favored with the awakening

and converting grace of God. The people were oftentimes awakened and brought to the knowledge of God in the course of the same day. Some who came to meeting in the forenoon quite careless and wicked have gone away before night happy in God. I have seen some fall beneath the power of God as if they were struck dead, and then lie helpless and speechless for a short space, while their friends have prayed for them, and at last they sprung up of a sudden, and with a loud voice gave praise to God in that he had forgiven their sins.”* Methodism was at its true calling—acting upon the masses, reaching the multitude with the gospel. It became common to begin quarterly-meetings on Friday, and continue them until Sunday night or Monday forenoon, and for hundreds of people to attend them in wagons, and carts, and with tents, and to lodge in the woods by the meeting-houses while the meeting lasted. Many old Christians were renewed in love, and backsliders were reclaimed. It was customary to hear of ten or twenty souls being converted where the people met to hear a sermon or to hold a prayer-meeting, and of fifty or a hundred souls being converted at a quarterly or a camp meeting. While sinners were coming home to God, Christians were advancing in the divine life, and many young preachers were raised up to the help of the Lord against the mighty.†

On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, according to credible report, more than one thousand persons were converted at a camp-meeting which lasted five days and nights.

The peninsula produced some of the strongest men of Methodism: Shadrack Bostwick, Caleb Boyer, William Beauchamp, Ezekiel Cooper, Hope Hull, William Phœbus, Stephen Martindale, Lawrence McCombs, Lawrence Lawrenson, John Emory, John Broadhead, George Pickering, and many others.

The necrology of these times is rich in the trophies of faith. Wilson Lee died in October, 1804. He had labored in the most refined Eastern stations and in the roughest Western missions, for twenty years. A few months before he died he said to a friend: “I have given up the world, I have given up the Church, I have given up all.”

William Ormond died of yellow fever, declaring with his latest breath, “Peace, peace, victory, victory; complete victory!” To

* Lee's History of Methodism. † Ibid.

a friend he wrote, June 30, 1803: "I expect to continue upon my station, for it appears I cannot well leave it at this time. I may as well die with the fever as with any other affliction, and there is as direct a passage from Norfolk to heaven as from any other part of the globe. I have no widow to weep over my lifeless body, no babes to mourn for a father; and I find this world is a dangerous and troublesome place." He left a legacy to the Conference, and another to build a house for God in the neighborhood of his nativity.

About the same time, in the North, fell David Brown, a native of Ireland. The Minutes say: "He had a peculiar excellency in reproof. The edge of it was so keen and so tempered as to give at the time rather pleasure than pain, yet so directed as to produce with unerring certainty its effect; and generally after his departure his supposed pleasantry was first perceived to have had a serious meaning; but he lost no love by his reproofs. Discord fled before him, for the God of peace was with him, and a united harmony brooded over the face of the circuit."

Nicholas Watters died in Charleston of yellow fever, where James King had died of the same disease seven years before. He was one of seven brothers who were among the first to embrace Methodism in Maryland; the youngest of whom was the first American Methodist itinerant. Henry Willis—one of the best of the original thirteen elders, finished his course; and George Dougherty, a gifted and faithful preacher. Like Willis, he often sunk and rose again in bodily strength, and took advantage of every respite to renew pulpit and pastoral labor. The Minutes say: "Our immortal Dougherty was declining for two years, but his fortitude caused him to travel to the last of life. He survived and re-survived. His last public act was to attend the Annual Conference in Sparta, Georgia, January, 1807. Here he brought forward a resolution, 'that if any preacher should desert his station through fear in time of sickness or danger, the Conference should never employ that man again.' He, with amazing argument and energy, carried his cause, like a dying general in victory. He spoke of eternity with sweet composure, and manifested an indescribable assemblage of confidence, love, and hope, while he said, 'The goodness and love of God to me are great and marvelous as I go down the dreadful declivity of death.'"

Bennett Kendrick was put on the Camden District to supply Dougherty's place, and died thirteen days after him. "His excellences as a preacher were known best to citizens, friends, and brethren in Portsmouth, Wilmington, Charleston, and Columbia; and the poor Africans repeat his name and his death with tears. He was a willing servant to slaves for the sake of Christ."

The reproach that the Protestant clergy desert their flocks in epidemics, and leave the Romish priesthood to stand by the people in times of danger, has often been disproved by Methodist preachers in the cities of the Gulf and Atlantic coasts.

Bishop Whatcoat died at the house of Governor Bassett, Delaware, in 1806. The brief record is: "Born in 1736; converted Sept. 3, 1758; sanctified March 28, 1761; began to preach in 1769; came to America in 1784; consecrated bishop in 1800; died at Dover, Delaware, July 5, 1806." He was one of the two elders who came with Bishop Coke to organize Episcopal Methodism, and used his office well. One day in Kent county he "preached in the morning and baptized thirty-six children, and in the afternoon, and baptized fifty more." We have seen him on his first episcopal tour. On returning to the place of setting out he wrote: "Our circuit through the continent since we left Baltimore, 21st of May, 1800, is about 4,184 miles. We had the pleasure of seeing and hearing that pure and undefiled religion is spreading in a general way; in some places it is extraordinary." The next year he explored and preached from Boston to Savannah. One expression betrays his itinerant habit and his conscientious accuracy. The distance between places is measured by "the way I came." He winds up his second continental tour: "From Camden to Petersburg, the way I traveled, is about 585 miles. I visited several societies, preached to the people, and came to Baltimore the 27th of March, 322 miles from Petersburg, the way I came. In my course through the continent since I left Baltimore the 11th of last April, it is about 3,707 miles, in the 66th year of my age." Next he touched the extreme eastern and western points of American Methodism, preaching edifying sermons, ordaining deacons and elders in every Conference, and concluded another tour of so many thousand miles, "the way I came." His fifth and last grand round is thus recorded: "Notwithstanding my infirm state of body, through the blessing of God I have been able to travel 3,416 miles the last

twelve months, stopping one-fourth of the time at different places by the way." The Minutes say: "Who ever saw him trifling or light? Who ever heard him speak evil of any person? Nay, who ever heard him speak an idle word? Dead to envy, pride, and praise. Sober, without sadness; cheerful, without levity; careful, without covetousness; and decent, without pride."

At the place of his tomb—Wesley Chapel, Dover—his surviving colleague bore a loving and strong testimony to the worth of one whom he "had known from his own age of fourteen years." All mourned for him whose chief and priceless contribution to the Church had been faithful service and holy example, gentleness and peace, sweetness and light.*

The General Conference of 1808 met in Baltimore, with one hundred and twenty-nine members as reported in the Minutes. Of these, Philadelphia had thirty-two and Baltimore thirty-one—nearly a majority of the body. This, like every General Conference before it, was a body with conventional powers. The whole Discipline was open to revision by a majority vote. It had become evident that there must be a delegated General Conference, working under a constitution. A committee of fourteen—two from each of the seven Annual Conferences—was appointed to draw up a plan. This committee met, and detailed three of their number as a sub-committee, viz.: Ezekiel Cooper, of the New York; Philip Bruce, of the Virginia; and Joshua Soule, of the New England Conference. This sub-committee agreed that each should make out a draught, and separated. When they met Cooper and Soule had theirs, but Bruce had not put pen to paper. The words, as they now stand in the Discipline, were in Joshua Soule's paper—providing for a general itinerant superintendency. Cooper's ran thus: "The General Conference shall not do away with episcopacy, nor reduce our ministry to a presbyterial parity." The issue was made there. Finally, Bruce voted with Soule, and his plan was submitted to the committee

* Not to lose sight of Thomas Vasey: Having once put on gown and bands, he could not put them off. He consented to receive reordination at the hands of Bishop White; returned to England; obtained a curacy in the Establishment; went back to his first love, and got employment from Wesley at City Road and in the Leed's band-meetings; and died at a good old age. It would be interesting to know what *spiritual* benefits or grace flowed to him along a *material* line of tactual succession, supposing such an unbroken conductor, by laying on of hands, to exist

of fourteen, and adopted without change, and by it submitted to the Conference. The constitution—for so we may call it—was debated, and laid on the table for three days. Ezekiel Cooper labored hard to have seven bishops—one for each Annual Conference. He was a master of debate, and the motion was his, seconded by Joshua Wells of the Baltimore Conference, “to postpone the present question to make room for the consideration of a new resolution as preparatory to the minds of the brethren to determine on the present subject.”

Cooper and others favored an elective presiding eldership, and this opportunity was considered a very favorable one for pushing a measure that had been often defeated mainly by those who now sought a delegated General Conference.

The motion to postpone prevailed, and they immediately introduced a resolution that “each Annual Conference respectively, without debate, shall annually choose by ballot its own presiding elders.” This question was debated for three days, and was lost by a vote of fifty-two yeas, and seventy-three nays. The report recommending a delegated body was then voted upon and lost, fifty-seven being for, and sixty-four against.

As the New York, New England, South Carolina, and Western Conferences had petitioned for this plan, and as it was lost by the votes principally of Philadelphia and Baltimore, much feeling was excited. The New England delegates asked leave of absence, stating that they were not disposed to make any faction, but they considered their presence useless. The Western delegates were in no pleasant mood. “Burke’s brow gathered a solemn frown; Sale and others looked sad; as for poor Lakin, he wept like a child.”* Jesse Lee, who from the beginning favored a delegated body, endangered the whole scheme by persistent objection to an unimportant point. He disliked the election of delegates; wished them indicated by seniority, to prevent electioneering. The author of the plan met this by proposing to amend the part providing for the appointment of delegates by leaving it to the Annual Conferences to appoint by seniority or by ballot. The brethren of the minority consented to remain in the city until some private interviews could be held. A number of the Philadelphia and Baltimore members agreed to reconsider and to vote with them; and subsequently the report was taken

* Henry Smith’s Recollections of an Itinerant.

up and acted on, item by item, and then as a whole the plan for a delegated General Conference was adopted with great unanimity.*

It was necessary to "strengthen the episcopacy" by the election of one or more superintendents; and after a motion to elect seven bishops, and another to elect two, had failed by a strong vote, it was resolved almost unanimously to elect and consecrate one. The Conference proceeded to vote by ballot, one hundred and twenty-eight members present and voting. William McKendree received ninety-five votes, and was declared elected; and on the 18th of May he was consecrated, in Light Street Church, by Bishop Asbury, assisted by four elders.

When the Western presiding elder entered the General Conference, he had been so long and so far from the central part of the Church his old friends were not prepared to appreciate the improvement he had made, while to the younger members of the body he was almost unknown, even by name. Having been appointed to preach at Light Street Church on the Sabbath before Conference, McKendree complied, and the unction of the Holy One was upon the preacher and the word. The people magnified the grace of God in him, saying in their hearts, "This is the man whom God delights to honor." Bishop Asbury, who was present, was heard to say that the sermon would make him

*The following is a copy of an important part of the plan:

The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church, under the following limitations and restrictions:

1. The General Conference shall not revoke, alter, or change our Articles of Religion, nor establish any new standards or rules of doctrine contrary to our present existing and established standards of doctrine.

2. They shall not allow of more than one representative for every five members of the Annual Conference, nor allow of a less number than one for every seven.

3. They shall not change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency.

4. They shall not revoke or change the General Rules of the United Societies.

5. They shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the Society, or by a committee, and of an appeal.

6. They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern, or of the Charter Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children. Provided, nevertheless, that upon the joint recommendation of all the Annual Conferences then a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference succeeding shall suffice to alter any of the above restrictions.

a bishop. He was the first native American elected to that office in the Methodist Church, and was fifty-one years of age.

The Conference of 1808 dates an era in Episcopal Methodism. Asbury rejoiced over the provision for stability in the Church and "the electing dear Brother McKendree," with this good reason: "Since the burden is now borne by two pairs of shoulders instead of one—the care is cast upon two hearts and heads."

Bishop Coke was present at the General Conference of 1801 and soon after took final leave. He was bringing out his Commentary on the Bible, and carrying on missions in the West Indies, Wales, Ireland, and Africa. Herein lies his greatness: he was in advance of the Church on its greatest duty—to spread the gospel in the regions beyond. He devoted himself to begging funds, as well as administering them, in this behalf, and was the largest giver to the cause; and so carefully, as well as honestly, was this abundance administered by him that there was never occasion for blame. The following is an instance of his perseverance and success. Calling on the captain of a man-of-war one day, he pleaded the cause of the negroes so powerfully that he obtained a much larger sum than he had expected; this he gratefully received and retired. The captain, who knew nothing of Dr. Coke, happened to call on a gentleman to whom the Doctor had made several successful applications in behalf of the missions. After some conversation, "Pray, sir," said the captain, "do you know any thing of a little fellow who calls himself Dr. Coke, who is going about begging money for missionaries to be sent among the slaves?" "I know him well," was the reply. "He seems," rejoined the captain, "to be a heavenly-minded little devil; he coaxed me out of two guineas this morning."

Returning from his ninth and last voyage to America, he renewed the business of planning missions and soliciting aid for their support. With this object in view he visited Bristol and called on a lady who was at once rich, generous, and pious. With a countenance beaming with generosity she subscribed one hundred guineas. As it was not convenient for her to pay the amount at that time, she requested him to call on her at her residence in Wiltshire. On seeing the amount of her subscription, the Doctor found it difficult to express his gratitude. When he called on her at Bradford, instead of repining at her former liberality,

she doubled the amount and gave him two hundred guineas. From these interviews an acquaintance began which led to their marriage in April, 1805.

This lady was the only surviving child of a gentleman who had bequeathed to her an ample fortune; and being interested in the prosperity of missions, she was desirous of promoting the cause of God by supporting them. Having married this estimable and wealthy lady—Miss Penelope Goulding Smith—Dr. Coke addressed a circular to his American brethren in June, 1805, announcing his marriage, and proposing to reside permanently with them “on the express condition that the seven Conferences should be divided betwixt us [Bishop Asbury and himself], three and four, and four and three, each of us changing our division annually; and that this plan, at all events, should continue permanent and unalterable during both our lives.”

The Conferences—some sharply, others mildly but firmly—declined a proposition which ignored the position and claims of Bishop Whatcoat, who was greatly and justly loved, and who was then actively engaged in the duties of his office; and which involved other consequences not desirable.

A more serious affair had to be cleared up by Bishop Coke, which brought a long explanatory letter to the Conference of 1808. He and Bishop White had been indulging in a little private negotiation for a union of the Methodist Episcopal and the Protestant Episcopal Churches, as far back as 1791. Of course the project fell through; but a letter of Coke's, written in honor and confidence to White on the matter, after lying still for years, had been published. While this document caused “much uncircumcised rejoicing” in one camp, it raised indignation in the other. He declares to the General Conference, after giving the history of the affair: “I thought (perhaps erroneously, and *I believe so now*) that our field of action would have been exceedingly enlarged by that junction, and that myriads would have attended our ministry in consequence of it who were at that time prejudiced against us. All these things unitedly considered led me to write the letter, and meet Bishop White and Dr. Magaw in Philadelphia.” He avers: “I never did apply to the general convention, or any other convention, for reconsecration. I never intended that either Bishop Asbury or myself should give up our episcopal office if the junction were to take place;” and that

"I have no doubt but my consecration of Bishop Asbury was perfectly valid." He held that the orders of all ordained Methodist preachers were perfectly valid, and that nothing he had written or done in the whole business was contrary to this position or compromised the honor and integrity of Methodism. It was to be a *union*, where both parties made concessions and got advantages, but neither was absorbed.

Coke had been alarmed at the O'Kelley schism, which was then rising; he had been listening to the chief and his friends, and took in their exaggerations of evil. Moreover, there was as yet no General Conference established as a center of power and bond of union for Episcopal Methodism. In this state of things he verily thought each Church could bring to the other some element of strength in their day of weakness.

The General Conference accepted his apology, and yielded gracefully to a request from the English brethren that he should remain with them, where he was greatly useful. The worst, the inexcusable part of this pragmatism is that Asbury was at his side when Coke wrote the letter, and was not taken into his confidence. His excuse was that he knew his colleague would not then entertain the thought, and he wished to get things in train by the coming General Conference of 1792.

Dr. Coke was very enterprising. In 1799 he had the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury considering another scheme of union proposed by himself, to arrest the tendency to "universal separation from the Establishment," which was evident among the Wesleyans of Great Britain. In a long letter he informs his lordship:

A very considerable part of our Society have imbibed a deep prejudice against receiving the Lord's Supper from the hands of immoral clergymen. The word immoral they consider in a very extensive sense, as including all those who frequent card-tables, balls, horse-racing, theaters, and other places of fashionable amusement. I have found it in vain to urge to them that the validity of the ordinance does not depend upon the piety, or even the morality, of the minister; all my arguments have had no effect.

I am inclined to think that if a given number of our leading preachers, proposed by our General Conference, were to be ordained, and permitted to travel through our Connection, to administer the sacraments to those Societies who have been thus prejudiced as above, every difficulty would be removed.

After some weeks of incubation upon this stone egg the archbishop, with due apology for delay, says: "I now proceed to in-

form you of my sentiments, and those of the bishops with whom I have communicated on the subject of your letter, after the fullest and most deliberate consideration of its contents." And the substance is: "That persons of tender consciences, who have scruples in respect to any points of religious doctrine or discipline, should be allowed all reasonable indulgence, we hold to be just and proper; but that a scruple avowed to be founded in a presumption that all the regularly ordained clergy of the Church of England are immoral, should be given way to"—well, they did not see their way clear! All this, let it be remembered, in England and in America, was on the Doctor's own motion and responsibility; nobody had any hand in it but himself.*

Thomas Coke's foibles must not be allowed to offset, or even to obscure, his excellences. Without chagrin he accepted the rejection of exceptional proposals to serve the American churches, and was ready with other offers. He took reproof kindly. Often blundering impetuously, he did not stint at apology. His "conscience could not be pacified" without writing "a penitential letter" to Jarratt for the way he had spoken of him in his journal as a slave-holder. If one ill-devised plan fell through, his restless activity for doing good tried another. He never soured, never despaired; and his love for his brethren never failed. The English Methodists, on his return to them, treated him coldly because they thought him too American; and his American brethren suspected him as too English; but he resented neither, and only sought to serve both in the Lord. On foreign mission stations, in the presence of the heathen where so vast a work is to be done for Christ, denominational differences are felt the least; the lines that divide the little band of Christian workers almost fade away. This missionary spirit and aspect had mastered Thomas Coke, and he desired to see a union of forces against the massed powers of sin and Satan, at any reasonable sacrifice and concession. If his advances were repelled, or his confidence was betrayed, he did not cease to trust his fellow-men, and could say: "In the integrity of my heart and innocence of my hands have I done this." More impulsive than calculating, he was too earnest for his cause to be conservative of his reputation. He bore the expenses as well as the perils of endless voyages and journeys in the service of the Church, and gave an im-

* Life of Coke, by Drew, pages 290-295.

pulse to domestic and foreign missions which is felt to this day. It has been truly stated that for many years he "stooped to the very drudgery of charity, and gratuitously pleaded the cause of a perishing world from door to door."

Beginning with Nova Scotia, and raising his first collection of \$150 in the Baltimore Conference of 1784 for the support of its missionaries, he reached even to Gibraltar. Nor did he end there. In 1811, under his appeals, Warren, Haley, Reyner, and Hurst volunteered to undertake a mission to the continent of Africa, and arrived safely after a passage of more than thirteen months. To carry this design into immediate operation Coke advanced £600 (about \$2,666) from his own personal property.

In 1813, having gathered all the information necessary for undertaking a mission to India, and fixed upon Ceylon as the best point for beginning, Coke appeared before the British Conference, in his sixty-sixth year, and asked their approval. He stated at large the providential concurrence of circumstances which at the time rendered a mission to the East feasible. At the same time he introduced to the Conference seven preachers who had volunteered to accompany him to the regions beyond. Some thought the time had not yet come for so bold and costly an enterprise; but he pleaded for it, and declared it would break his heart if he were denied. To silence effectually whatever opposition might be made from pecuniary considerations, he offered to bear the whole expense of the outfit from his own private property, to the amount of £6,000 (about \$26,660), if that sum should be found necessary.

Having completed the necessary preparations, on the 10th of December they left London for Portsmouth, to embark. Their ship doubled the Cape of Good Hope late in April. The missionaries were diligent in studies, preparatory to their future work, and frequent and fervent in devotions. On retiring to rest May 2, their leader "took his fellow-missionaries by the hand, and in his usual manner commended them to God." Next morning he was found "stretched upon his cabin-floor, lifeless and cold." It is supposed that he died of apoplexy. The wish, expressed in his will, that his body might be buried by the side of beloved dust at Brecon, could not be carried out. The intense heat made it necessary that the funeral should take place on the evening of the same day.

The ship's carpenter made a large, thick deal coffin, with holes in the bottom, that the air might not prevent its sinking. In this coffin the body was decently laid, and four cannon-balls, inclosed in canvas bags, were introduced—two at the head and two at the feet of the corpse. At five o'clock the coffin was carried on deck and laid on the leeward gangway. The awning was spread, and the tolling of the ship's bell called the passengers and crew together. One of the missionaries read the funeral-service, and then, in solemn silence, the body of the first Methodist bishop was consigned to its grave in the middle of the Indian Ocean, to be seen no more till "the sea shall give up the dead which are in it."

The rest of the company reached the place of their destination in safety, and commenced their labors under favorable circumstances; and the success which has since attended this mission proves that it was undertaken and prosecuted under the Divine sanction. It was the beginning of the vast foreign missionary work that has made Wesleyan Methodism famous in all lands.

At the time of Coke's death Asbury, wheezing and groaning with asthma, with his feet in poultices, and "sitting in my little covered wagon, into which they lifted me," was clambering over the mountains of Western Pennsylvania, visiting, preaching, and holding Conferences. When the news of the sad event reached him he wrote in his journal: "Thomas Coke, of the third branch of Oxonian Methodists: as a minister of Christ, in zeal, in labors, and in services, the greatest man of the last century."

CHAPTER XXXV

Extending the Field in Illinois and Missouri—Winans—Negro Missions—Olin—McKendree's New Method of Presiding—Asbury Takes Final Leave of the Conferences—State of the Western Field on his Departure—Asbury's Death.

THE members of the General Conference of 1808 closed their memorable session with remarkable unanimity and affection, and returned to their respective fields with fresh zeal and hope, feeling that they had done their duty to God and the Church; and the whole Connection seemed to enjoy renewed vigor. The two Bishops separated. Asbury, with Henry Boehm as his traveling companion, started through Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Kentucky, to the first Conference for the year, to be held in Tennessee; while McKendree went through Western Virginia and Illinois, and crossing the Mississippi River above its junction with the Missouri, joined his old friend Jesse Walker in holding a camp-meeting, in July; and pushing still farther west, crossing the Missouri River one hundred miles above its mouth, they held another camp-meeting at Big Spring, in August. This was the frontier "where," he says in his diary, "until lately the Methodists were unknown—it being under the Spanish and papal governments until transferred to us by the French. Last year we formed a circuit here."

On the way to the farthest west he attended an Illinois camp-meeting where he had preached the year before. The approach was picturesque: "Crossing the Ohio we left Kentucky, and took four days' provision for man and beast, and struck into the wilderness. Lying out was no hardship, but the water was extremely bad, and the flies intolerable. Some had attempted to go through the prairies, but had turned back, and advised us not to try it; but we resolved to go, trusting the Lord. On the third day the flies afflicted us sorely, when a kind Providence sent a strong breeze and blew them all away. After twelve hours a shower of rain succeeded, and blessed man and beast with water to drink. On Saturday morning, as we drew near to the encampment, about thirty of the neighbors fell in with us. We rode two deep, and a number of excellent singers went in front. We were all glad, and as we moved they sung delightfully, 'with the spirit and with the understanding;' and as we approached the

congregation met us with open arms, and welcomed us in the name of the Lord. The Lord was in our midst."

On the return he attended another camp-meeting in the territory. "The people received us as angels of God, and the Lord blessed us with many conversions. On Monday as the sun rose I preached, and then started for Kentucky. A Chickamauga Indian who got converted when I was here last year, stood at a distance and looked on until he could refrain no longer, then rushed through the crowd, caught me around the neck, and cried aloud, saying, 'I see your face no more!' We rode forty-five miles, lodged in the wilderness, and rested in peace."

Late in September he rejoined Bishop Asbury at the Western Conference, which began October 1, at Liberty Hill, near Nashville. The Conference was held at a camp-meeting, the preachers lodging on the encampment, while the Bishops, in view of Bishop Asbury's feeble health, staid at the residence of Green Hill, the same at whose North Carolina home the first Annual Conference was held in 1785. "We sat," says the senior, "six hours a day, stationed eighty-three preachers, and all was peace. On Friday the sacrament was administered, and we hope there were souls converted, and strengthened, and sanctified."

Seventeen preachers were admitted on trial, among them William Winans. He was born in West Pennsylvania, 1788. His childhood and youth were subjected to a severe and rugged discipline. "The poverty of a widowed mother rendered it needful that he should at an early age labor for his own support and that of the other members of her family. He was thus employed in the iron foundries of his neighborhood, where association exposed him to every form of vice. When about sixteen years of age his family removed to the State of Ohio. He was brought to see his sin and deplore it, and joined the Church, and after months of earnest prayer found the forgiveness of sins, and received the witness of the Spirit to his adoption. At a night-meeting while leading in prayer, he found the pearl of great price, and from this period dated his conversion to God. He was shortly after appointed class-leader, then licensed to exhort." Having exercised his gifts as an exhorter for one year, he was licensed to preach, and recommended to Conference. He was appointed to the old Limestone Circuit, as junior preacher: the next year to Vincennes Circuit, which included all the settle-

ments on the Wabash and White rivers, from the Indiana line to the Ohio River. He found a small society of forty-three members which Jesse Walker had organized at Vincennes the year before, and returned to the next Conference one hundred and twenty-five. In August, 1810, while young Winans was on this circuit, occurred the historic interview between Tecumseh, a Shawnee chief, and General Harrison, who was Governor of the Territory. Dissatisfied with a late treaty between the Governor and the Miami Indians, by which certain lands on the Wabash were ceded to the Government, Tecumseh sought the abrogation of the treaty. The interview took place in a grove of trees standing a short distance from the Governor's house, the Indian chief having objected to the conference being held on the portico, as proposed. At one point in the negotiations fears were entertained that the meeting would end in a bloody massacre. Amid the excitement that such an occasion would produce, the Methodist preacher evinced characteristic coolness and courage. Unwilling, if his services were needed, to be only a silent spectator, he ran to the house of the Governor, and obtaining a gun posted himself at the door as the guard of the family. To the self-possession and alertness of young Winans, no less than to the calm bearing of the Governor (whose eye quailed not during the menacing demonstrations of Tecumseh), may be attributed the peaceful termination of the interview.

Next fall transfers were wanted for the Mississippi country, and William Winans, with Sela Paine, took the Natchez trace for that region of the Church and country to be henceforth associated with his development, his labors, and his death, and there we shall meet him again.

The journal of Asbury on the road says: "Prospects in Missouri are great. Bishop McKendree has magnified his office, and penetrated farther to the West than I have, already. From the Western Conference we have traveled rapidly, chiefly together. We hope to strike off a thousand or twelve hundred miles before the South Carolina Conference."

The diary of McKendree shows that, in company with his senior, he started from Liberty Hill the day after the Conference rose, preached in many places, attended two camp-meetings, and then went on to Charleston, where he remained two weeks, preaching in the different churches.

They move on from Charleston, through Augusta, to the camp-ground in Green county, Georgia, where the Conference is held the last days of the year. Asbury's journal gives the lights and the shadows:

Dec. 18, 1808.—I preached in Augusta. My flesh sinks under labor. We are riding in a poor thirty dollar chaise, in partnership, two bishops of us; but it must be confessed it tallies well with the weight of our purses. What bishops! Well; but we hear great news, and we have great times, and each Western, Southern, and the Virginia Conference will have one thousand souls truly converted to God; and is not this an equivalent for a light purse? And are we not well paid for starving and toil? Yes, glory be to God!

Sabbath 25.—Christmas-day. We opened our Conference on Monday. Between sixty and seventy men were present, all of one spirit. We appointed three missionaries—one for Tombigbee; one for Ashley and Savannah, and the country between; and one to labor between Santee and Cooper rivers. Increase within the bounds of this Conference three thousand and eighty-eight. Preaching, and exhortations, and singing, and prayer—we had all these without intermission on the camp-ground, and we have reasons to believe that many souls will be converted. The number of traveling and local preachers present is about three hundred. There are people here with their tents who have come one hundred and fifty miles. The prospects of doing good are glorious.

Three missionaries! Matthew P Sturdevant enters the Tombigbee country, and Alabama Methodism begins its record. The other two are to the negro slaves in South Carolina.

The South Carolina Conference then began what was kept up for half a century—sending a class of good preachers to evangelize the slaves. In many cases they were superior men, who devoted themselves to what the world esteemed an inferior work. J. H. Mellard was the missionary on Savannah River, and James E. Glenn on the Santee. Twelve years later a young man from Vermont, who had graduated at Middlebury College with a shattered constitution and unsettled religious principles, sought the South for health and employment. James E. Glenn received him to his home at Cokesbury, and as one of the trustees of the village academy secured him a position. Though born in the North, he was converted and developed in the South; became the first President of Randolph Macon College, Virginia, and died in the same position at Wesleyan University, Connecticut; and in the opinion of many competent judges was the ablest preacher who has appeared in American Methodism. No man had more influence in shaping Stephen Olin's early Southern life, and in giving it "an unlooked-for turn," than James E. Glenn.

A glance at the men and their distribution will show that the Conference holding the extreme Southern position is strong, and laying a foundation for the future.

Lovick Pierce is presiding elder of the Oconee District, Britton Capel of the Ogeechee, Lewis Myers of the Saleuda, Daniel Asbury of the Catawba, and Jonathan Jackson of the Camden District. James Jenkins, Hilliard Judge, Samuel Dunwoody, William Gassaway, William M. Kennedy, James Russell, Joseph Farpley, are among the laborers cultivating this portion of the vineyard; and this year sixteen recruits are added, among them William Capers, Anthony Senter, and Robert L. Kennon.

Continuing their route, in partnership, the two itinerant general superintendents visited Wilmington, Newbern, and Washington, and reached Tarboro, North Carolina, on the last day of January. The Virginia Conference began there the next day. Bishop McKendree was now among his old acquaintances, preached admirably, and ordained the elders. Bishop Asbury says: "We had eighty-four preachers present; sixty of them the most pleasing, promising young men; seventeen preachers were admitted; in all the Conference there are but three married men." The first three bishops were bachelors, and so were Cooper, Bruce, Lee, and a great company of that generation.

In their northward visitation the two itinerant general superintendents passed through New York, where their "attention was strongly excited by the steam-boat—a great invention." Little did they dream of the effect of that new motor in facilitating the spread of their gospel. They traveled every day—Sundays of course excepted—to the 14th of June, when they reached Monmouth, Maine, the seat of the New England Conference. This trip, which occupied twenty-one days, can now be made in as many hours, and without fatigue.

June 10 Bishop McKendree notes in his diary:

I have passed through nearly all the sea-port towns in my course, and preached in Boston, Lynn, and Portsmouth, this week. There is a beautiful prospect of religion in Portsmouth, the seat of government for New Hampshire. I heard more doctrinal sentiments and more breathing after holiness expressed in a love-feast here than in any other place I have visited lately. This Society has been raised, and a meeting-house purchased, by George Pickering, in the course of this year.

From New England they proceeded to finish the round, by different routes to the Western Conference—Asbury going

through Pittsburg, and McKendree passing through Steubenville, Zanesville, Chillicothe, and reaching Cincinnati the last of September. His record of one week is: "My rides have been long. Rode through much rain, preached nine times to small, lonely congregations, in the course of this week." He attended three more camp-meetings—the first near Chillicothe, the second at Rev. P. Gatch's, and the last at Rev. John Collins's.

Henry Boehm was the traveling companion of the senior Bishop, and was specially useful in preaching to the Germans. Boehm's journal tells of the first Methodist preaching to his thrifty and thoughtful countrymen in the West:

September 23 we reached one of Bishop Asbury's best homes and dearest friends—Philip Gatch. While the Bishop rested there I took a tour among the Germans. Some of them had not heard preaching in their own tongue since they left their native land. Tears flowed from many eyes, and they heard with delight the word of life. What has God wrought since among the Germans!

September 30, 1809, the Western Conference commenced its session in Cincinnati. This was the first Conference held in what has since become the Queen City of the West. There were some splendid men at this Conference, who were destined, under God, to lay the foundations of Methodism in what is now the mighty West. I heard some excellent preaching here.

Eight elders were ordained, among them Samuel Parker, Miles Harper, John Collins, and Peter Cartwright. Boehm continued:

On Sunday, the 8th of October, Bishop Asbury preached in the morning, Learner Blackman in the afternoon, and Samuel Parker in the evening. The sermons were all good, but Parker's excelled. Over fifty years have passed away since I heard him, and yet the image of the eloquent Parker is before me, and I remember with what overwhelming pathos he dwelt on the "fellowship of His sufferings." The word ran through the audience like electricity, tears flowed, and shouts were heard. It was a most appropriate sermon for the last before the Conference adjourned. It prepared the ministers for the work of suffering with their Lord if they would reign with him.

Bishop Asbury then delivered to the Methodists in Cincinnati a farewell address, which was not only able and ingenious, but truly affecting. We had spent two Sabbaths there, and on the morrow were to take our departure. I heard fifteen sermons at this Conference from the master-minds of the West, men who were giving tone and character to Methodism through all that vast region.

With regret we bid farewell to our kind friends in Cincinnati and started for the South Carolina Conference, several of the preachers with us. We entered Kentucky, and at midnight the Bishop called us up and we traveled twenty-five miles to Mount Gerizim, where he had an appointment. Bishop McKendree here preached a sweet sermon from "Is it well with thee?" He used to inquire of his dying sister, Frances Moore, whom I knew very well, "Is it well with thee?" and

when he was himself on his death-bed he exclaimed, "All is well!" Bishop Asbury preached from "Suffer the word of exhortation," and then ordained.*

Bishop McKendree has completed his first round. His biographer says: "He introduced a new style of things in presiding over the Annual Conferences; for while Bishop Asbury always presided with dignity and impartiality, yet he was regarded by the preachers as a father, and did not on all occasions adhere strictly to the Rules of Order in the management of Conference business. His age, his long services, and his intimate acquaintance with the whole work and with the workmen, gave him a position no one else could reasonably expect to occupy, and relieved him from the necessity of attending rigidly to parliamentary usage. But Bishop McKendree felt that his relation was in some respects a different one. Many of those over whom he was called to preside were older and more experienced than himself. Besides, he was a man of method, as was evinced in every thing he did and said, and had long since come to the conclusion that a close adherence to established rules by deliberative bodies is not only a protection to the minority and the president, but is calculated to expedite business. And as he was prompt, impartial, and courteous in deciding all such questions of law and order as properly devolved upon him, he soon became, in the estimation of the whole Connection, a model president."†

Asbury's criticism at the Virginia Conference was, "Mighty in talk;" McKendree's at the New York: "We had much harmony, peace, and love among the preachers; but business was done in the most desultory manner, owing to an entire abandonment of manner, and a flood of words. There were some attempts to correct these errors, in order to facilitate business, but they proved ineffectual. Friday the Conference concluded [ten days]; and in my opinion the business might all have been done in six days."

It may well be doubted whether there is any deliberative or executive body which equals a Methodist Conference, as at present constituted, in good order and the dispatch of business. Coke, Asbury, and Whatcoat were Englishmen, and although wise, great, and good, could not conform their mode of adminis-

* Boelim says: "It was not his [Asbury's] custom to tarry after Conference adjourned. He moved right on, and often his horse was at the door and he was ready to commence his journey as soon as the benediction was pronounced."

† Life and Times of McKendree, by Paine.

tration to American ideas. The native Bishop "placed himself and his office in harmony with the feelings and sentiments of his countrymen, by refusing to govern except according to law."

The first delegated General Conference met in New York, May 1, 1812, composed of ninety members. Now was to be tested the fealty of her representatives in the highest judicatory of the Church to the Constitution itself. "Methodism was about to pass the ordeal which the civil government had experienced in the first Congress under the Federal Constitution. And as in the latter case the practical application of the constitution was rendered both more difficult and important on account of the novelty of the experiment and the danger of introducing precedents which might lead to disastrous consequences, so in the former the utmost caution was necessary to begin the administration of the newly adopted organic laws of the Church conformably to the true intent and spirit of the ecclesiastical constitution. In both the highest qualities of mind and heart were needed. There was this obvious difference, however, in the charters under which they respectively acted—the two governments not only differ in their origin, nature, design, and mode of operations, but moreover, while the power vested in Congress is limited by specific grants of power, to be exercised for the general welfare, the delegated General Conference possessed, by constitutional right, all power originally belonging to the whole body they represented, except certain clearly defined prohibitions."*

Among the ninety seated in "old John Street Church" we gladly recognize such veterans as Garrettson, Cooper, Ware, Lee, Bruce, Reed, and Snethen; and a fair proportion of that second generation of men whose lives are Methodist history—Soule, Hedding, Bangs, Pickering, Sale, Blackman, Sargent, and Roszell; but a special interest gathers about a sprinkling of picked young men who come the first time to the front—Lovick Pierce, John Early, Thomas L. Douglass, James E. Glenn, Samuel Dunwoody, Enoch George, and R. R. Roberts.

At the opening of the Conference Bishop McKendree made a communication in writing, portions of which were referred to appropriate committees. The address was designed to call the attention of the Conference to the condition and wants of the Church. It was the beginning of episcopal addresses, which

* *Life and Times of McKendree*, by Paine.

have been continued from that time. Bishop Asbury made a long verbal address, directing it chiefly to his colleague.

Asbury had been trained in the English Wesleyan school, and his presidency had been similar, in some respects, to the British system of holding Conferences. The sessions held under him had not been conducted very strictly by parliamentary rules. An octogenarian who was present describes the scene: .

McKendree's address was read in Conference, but as it was a new thing the aged Bishop (Asbury) rose to his feet immediately after the paper was read, and addressed the junior Bishop to the following effect: "I have something to say to you before the Conference." The junior also rose to his feet, and they stood face to face. Bishop Asbury went on to say: "This is a new thing. I never did business in this way, and why is this new thing introduced?" The junior Bishop promptly replied: "You are our father, we are your sons; you never have had need of it. I am only a brother, and have need of it." Bishop Asbury said no more, but sat down with a smile on his face. The scene is now before me. I believe the Bishops have pursued the plan ever since.

At this Conference local deacons were made eligible to the office of elders. A motion to remove the Book Concern to the city of Baltimore—no property as yet having been purchased in New York—was lost, and Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ware were elected Book Agents. The Western Conference disappears from the Minutes, its territory being divided into the Ohio and the Tennessee Conferences. An old question is up. Asbury's journal says: "After a serious struggle of two days in General Conference to change the mode of appointing presiding elders, it remains as it was. Means had been used to keep back every presiding elder who was known to be favorable to appointments by the Bishops, and long and earnest speeches have been made to influence the minds of the members. I had seventeen of the preachers to dine with me. There was vinegar, mustard, and a still greater portion of oil; but the disappointed parties sat down in peace, and we enjoyed our sober meal."

The venerable man who had been permitted to see the Church organization completed, and all its vital forces in full play, never met another General Conference. His journal in June, 1813: "I have made my will, appointing Bishop McKendree, Daniel Hitt, and Henry Boehm my executors. If I do not in the meantime spend it, I shall leave, when I die, an estate of two thousand dollars, I believe. I give it all to the Book Concern. This money, and somewhat more, I have inherited from dear depart-

and Methodist friends in the State of Maryland who died childless, besides some legacies which I have never taken. Let all return and continue to aid the cause of piety." He kept moving round among the churches until 1815, when we find him again in the West. "My friends in Philadelphia," he says, "gave me a little light, four-wheeled carriage, but God and the Baltimore Conference made me a richer present—they gave me John Wesley Bond for a traveling companion. Has he his equal on the earth for excellences of every kind as an aid? I groan one minute with pain, and shout Glory! the next." He is ever and anon in the houses of those whose parents and grandparents were converted under his ministry in the Eastern States. "In this family I have served four generations," is the record on baptizing a child in Kentucky. "I preached in his grandfather's house in Maryland in 1774," is the record as he concludes a religious service in a log-cabin at the western foot of the Alleghany Mountains," and adds: "God still dwells with this family." At the Ohio Conference he is present, but unable to preside; he says: "John Sale finished the plan of the stations from a general draft I furnished him. We closed our labors in peace. One thing I remark—our Conferences are out of their infancy; their rulers can now be called from amongst themselves."

In the journey with his colleague, on the road from the Ohio Conference, they "had a long, earnest talk about the affairs of the Church; I told him the Western part of the empire would be the glory of America, and ought to be marked out for five Conferences;" and he marked out five where now are fifty.

At Bethlehem, near Lebanon, the Tennessee Conference met. October, 1815. It was Bishop Asbury's last session. He says: "Sabbath.—I ordained the deacons and preached a sermon, in which Dr. Coke was remembered. My eyes fail. I resign the stations to Bishop McKendree; I will take away my feet." Thirty times in thirty-one years he had visited the South. "I wish to visit Mississippi, but am resigned." Let us glance at the situation in the West: In the Ohio Conference David Young is presiding elder of the Ohio District, Jacob Young of the Muskingum, James Quinn of the Scioto, John Sale of the Miami, Samuel Parker of the Kentucky, and Charles Holliday of the Salt River District. They are helped by such men as William McMahan, Marcus Lindsey, J. B. Finley, and Benjamin Lakin

Henry B. Bascom appears on the list as junior preacher on the Mad River Circuit. In the Tennessee Conference Thomas L. Douglass is the presiding elder of the Nashville District, John McGee of the Cumberland, Peter Cartwright of the Green River, James Axley of the Holston, Jesse Walker of the Illinois, S. H. Thompson of the Missouri, and Samuel Sellers of the Mississippi District. Among their helpers are John Lane, Thomas Nixon, Lewis Garrett, Joshua Boucher, Benjamin Malone, Jesse Cunningham, John Henninger, John Menniffee; serving a membership of 46,500, reaching from the Lakes to the Gulf.

Despairing of keeping up with the Annual Conference sessions any longer, Asbury moved by slow and painful stages, flattering himself with the prospect of meeting the General Conference, which was to assemble in Baltimore on the 2d of May, 1816. As the veteran climbed the mountains for the last time, leaving the Valley of the Mississippi behind him, he doubtless paused at many a point in the winding road to take a sad but grateful farewell of the scene of so many labors and hardships. A rich and wide-extending view spread out below him. Deep and varied tints of autumn were upon fields and forests. The West, the great West, blessed with a *Christian* civilization, has begun its mighty career. And what a part had God permitted Francis Asbury to bear in that work since he first crossed these mountains twenty-seven years ago!

With his faithful traveling companion, Bond, the Bishop reached Richmond, Va., where he preached March 24, in the old Methodist Church. They bore him from his carriage—for he was unable either to walk or stand—to the pulpit, and seated him on a table prepared for that purpose. Though he had to make frequent pauses in the course of his sermon, recovering breath, yet he spoke nearly an hour, from Rom. ix. 28. This closed his public labors on earth. Friday he reached the house of his old friend, George Arnold, of Spottsylvania. He had hoped to reach Fredericksburg, twenty miles beyond, but failing strength prevented. The next morning the family proposed to send for a physician, but he objected, saying that his breath would be gone before the doctor could get there. On Sunday, at eleven o'clock, he desired that the family might be called together; and at his request Rev. J. W. Bond sung, prayed, and expounded Rev. xxi. Throughout the exercises he appeared to be very much engaged in devotion.

They offered him a little barley-water, but he was unable to swallow, and his speech began to fail. Observing the distress of his beloved Bond, he raised his hand and looked joyfully at him; and in reply to his question if he felt the Lord Jesus Christ to be precious, he seemed to exert all his remaining strength, and in token of complete victory raised both hands. A few minutes after, as he sat upon his chair, without a struggle, and with great composure, he breathed his last. His body was deposited in the burial-ground of the family, but a month later, at the request of the Church in Baltimore, was taken up and brought to that city. A vast concourse of citizens attended the corpse as it was carried from the General Conference room in Light street to the place prepared for its reception in Eutaw street, preceded by Bishop McKendree as the officiating minister, and followed by the members of the General Conference as chief mourners. The corpse was placed in Eutaw Street Church, and a funeral-sermon preached by Bishop McKendree, after which the body was deposited in a vault under the recess of the pulpit. There it remained for forty years, when it was removed to Mt. Olivet Cemetery.

Beginning his itinerant ministry at seventeen Francis Asbury ended it in his seventy-first year. During that time it is estimated that he averaged a sermon or an exhortation a day. The extent of his journeys, during his ministry of forty-five years in the United States, was equal, upon an average, to the circumference of the globe every five years—and this by private conveyance, mainly horseback. During the last thirty-two years of his life he presided in two hundred and thirty-four Annual Conferences, and ordained about four thousand ministers.

To him has been justly applied the remark of a British essayist, that it is vain to talk of men numerically: if the passions of a man are exalted to a summit like the majestic steadiness with which St. Paul points out the single object of his life, and the unquenchable courage with which he walks toward it, he is a thousand men!

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Canada Methodism: The Planting and the Separation—Clergy Reserves—Ryerson—Case—Bangs—Losee—Church Union in the Dominion—New Rules—Joshua Soule Book Agent—Enoch George and R. R. Roberts elected Bishops—A Conference down the Mississippi, organized in 1816.

THE war with England (1812–1815) began and ended since the last General Conference. The usual ill result upon spiritual religion, and the special effect of disturbing the relations of Canada Methodism with the Mother Church, followed.

The original planting of Methodism North of the St. Lawrence was instrumentally due to what on one side is censured as toryism, and on the other is praised as loyalty. In 1780 a Wesleyan local preacher—Tuffey—as commissary of a British regiment, came to Quebec, and preached there with permanent results. As he was the first in Lower Canada, so Major Neal, of a cavalry regiment, was the first Methodist preacher in Upper Canada. A native of Pennsylvania, at the breaking out of the Revolution he joined the British Army, and after the war he taught school and preached on the Niagara frontier.

The exodus of the Embury family, first from the city to the rural parts of New York and thence, in 1774, across the line, gave to Canada Methodism the same origin with that of John Street. While mowing in his field in 1773 the good Philip injured himself so severely as to die suddenly at the age of forty-five years, “greatly beloved and much lamented.” His widow and sons, and brothers and kindred, including Paul and Barbara Heck, took shelter under the flag of George the Third, at the approach o. ’76, and belonged to the first Methodist class in Augusta, Upper Canada; and there they are buried.

William Losee was sent over by Bishop Asbury from the New York Conference in 1790, and went again next year “as soon as the winter was well set in and the ice on the St. Lawrence strong enough to allow crossing with a horse.” He was followed by Sawyer, and Coleman, and other missionaries. In 1805 William Case, “father of Indian missions in Canada,” and Henry Ryan were appointed to the Bay of Quinte. “Father Case” did more for Indian evangelization than Eliot or Brainerd. Nathan

Bangs went to Canada in 1799 as a surveyor, but for want of constant employment he taught school. In 1800 he was awakened and converted through the instrumentality of the Revs. Coleman and Sawyer, near Queenstown, and commenced in 1801 as an itinerant preacher under the direction of the presiding elder of the district—Joseph Jewell. He spent the first seven years of his laborious ministerial life in Canada, after which he entered the work in the United States, and earned an imperishable record. In 1811 the apostolic Asbury made a visitation to Canada on his way to the Genesee Conference, with which it was connected. In his journal he says: "Our ride has brought us through one of the finest countries I have ever seen; the timber of noble growth, the cattle well-looking, crops abundant, on a most fruitful soil. To the people my soul is much united."

The Boswellian Boehm gives an account of crossing the river before steam ferries and suspension bridges were known: "We crossed the St. Lawrence in romantic style. We had four Indians to paddle us over. They lashed three canoes together, and put our horses into them, their fore feet into one canoe, their hind feet in another. It was a singular load—three canoes, three passengers, three horses, and four Indians. They were to take us over for three dollars. It was nearly three miles across to where we landed."

Anticipating the regular course of history a little: the most influential man in Canadian Methodism was one of an intellectual family raised up among themselves—Egerton Ryerson, D.D. His bold and powerful handling of the Clergy Reserves question brought him into notoriety when a young man, and he continued long in important public service, and must live in grateful remembrance. The case stood thus:

The "Clergy Reserves" consisted of one-seventh of all the surveyed lands of Upper Canada, set apart by the "Constitutional Act" which established the parliamentary government of Upper Canada, for the "support of a Protestant clergy," in contradistinction to the Roman Catholic clergy of Lower Canada, who were largely endowed by tithes and lands. It was intended that Upper Canada should be an English and Protestant province, while Lower Canada should be French and Roman Catholic. In Lower Canada there was no legislative endowment for Protestantism, in Upper Canada there was no legislative endowment for Romanism.

It was now claimed that the "Protestant clergy" of the "Constitutional Act" were the clergy of the Church of England alone; it was *the* Established Church of Upper Canada as well as of England and Ireland. Not only was one-seventh of the

lands of the Province claimed as the patrimony of the clergy of that Church, but large English parliamentary grants were applied for, and a large endowment of land was granted for a University College, including a Faculty of Theology, all under the direction of the authorities of that Church, and based on its Articles of Religion and Service of Worship.

But even this monstrous system might not have excited much attention or opposition, had it not appeared that the great object of the whole scheme was not merely the support of the Church of England in Canada, but the extermination of other religious persuasions, especially of the Methodists, who were represented as republicans and overrunning the country, and whose influence was represented as hostile to the civil and religious institutions of England.*

After a conflict of twenty years, religious liberty—equality before the law—was secured for all Protestant Churches. Others shared in the benefit, but Methodism led in the bold challenge and in the protracted struggle, and lost nothing by it, as its commanding position in Canada this day shows.

A delegation from the London Methodist Missionary Society was present at the opening of the General Conference of 1816, asking the Americans to retire from the field. Two resolutions adopted at Baltimore show the drift of the reply:

Although the late hostilities between the two countries separated for some time those provinces from the immediate superintendency of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, yet all the circuits, except Quebec, were as regularly supplied as circumstances would admit of, with American preachers.

It furthermore appears, from written and verbal communications, that it is the desire of the great majority of the people in Upper and Lower Canada to be supplied, as heretofore, with preachers from the United States.

Canadian Methodists were at a disadvantage in any contest among citizens. The chief charge against them at home, and the common ground of opposition during many years, was that their ministers were disaffected to the government and institutions of the country, being ordained and controlled by bishops in the United States. The agitation began now which ended in the withdrawal of the jurisdiction of the American General Conference from Canada; not, however, until English Wesleyan missionaries had been sent into the field, and complications had arisen that required delicate negotiations to preserve fraternal relations.

That portion of America which people in the United States habitually think of as contracted and cold is indeed the shoulders of the continent—its broadest part. It is not only fertile in soil and bracing in climate, but nourishes one of the most spiritual,

* Canadian Methodism: Its Epochs and Characteristics. 1882.

cultivated, and aggressive forms of Methodism in the world. In their institutions of learning, their tasteful, commodious churches, their missionary offerings, their earnest piety, and their exemplification of the modes, as well as the spirit, of Wesleyanism, they fall behind none. After several adjustments and forms in Church organization, Canadian Methodism, in the centennial year, presents itself as one compact body. Until 1874 there were five bodies of Methodists: the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Primitive Methodists, the Bible Christian Methodists, the New Connection Methodists, and the Wesleyan Methodists. In 1874 the New Connection Methodists and the Methodists of the Wesleyan Church were united, and in 1883 the remaining bodies were joined together, and now these five, with a membership aggregating nearly two hundred thousand, make one common Methodism for the Dominion of Canada.

It was necessary to change the management of the Book Concern. Though its capital was reported at \$80,000, it was embarrassed. Joshua Soule and T. Mason were elected Agents, and directed to resume the publication of the *Methodist Magazine*, which had been started in 1789, but was suspended the year following. In 1818 it was resumed, under the editorship of Joshua Soule. Not less than ten thousand subscribers were obtained the first year. The work was published monthly until 1841, when it assumed the title of *Quarterly Review*, in which character it continued. The magazine would compare indifferently with modern literature of its kind; but it was a great step in advance. Its doctrinal sermons and essays, its biographical sketches, and its occasional letters of news, with now and then a review of some author who had indulged, hitherto with impunity, in an assault upon Methodist doctrine or polity, made good reading for the times. It was a medium of communication for preachers and people; and while it edified and united the Church, it also prepared the way for the weekly visits of the *Christian Advocates*, and the more elaborate *Quarterly*. Joshua Soule frankly notified the Conference of the risk they ran in making him Book Agent, for he knew nothing about the business. However, upon his general force of character they elected him. He found the Concern without credit, and the stock old and comparatively valueless. He opened new books, and as a loan of money was indispensable he procured it from Baltimore. his

friends there—Littig and Bryce—indorsing for him. The Book Concern prospered under his administration. He had no difficulty afterward in getting all the money he wanted—even during the financial crisis which occurred while he was in the agency. With Mason his assistant, he boxed the books himself; and had few or no losses by transmissions or letters. The Hymn-book and Discipline were the principal publications. He was his own book-editor, and went home at night and worked on the *Magazine*, often till twelve o'clock. Hence it was pleasantly called, by an editorial friend, "the work of darkness."

Two new Conferences were added—Missouri and Mississippi. The annual salary of a traveling preacher was changed in 1800 from sixty-four to eighty dollars, and in 1816 from eighty to one hundred dollars. The ratio of representation in the General Conference was altered from five to seven. A new clause was inserted in the Discipline, making it the duty of the Bishops to prescribe a course of study and of reading to be pursued by undergraduates or candidates for the ministry.

Of course the old question of the election of presiding elders by the Conference, out of a number nominated by the Bishop, was up, and this time with a new feature in the way of an amendment, which was accepted by the New York mover:

Subsequently Nathan Bangs offered to amend the first answer by appending the following words to it: "And the presiding elder so elected and appointed shall remain in office four years, unless sooner dismissed by the mutual consent of the Bishop and the Conference, or unless he be elected to some other office by the General Conference. But no presiding elder shall be removed from office during the term of four years without his consent, unless the reasons for such removal be stated to him in the presence of the Conference, who shall decide without debate."

The whole question was lost by a vote of forty-two to sixty, showing an increased conservative majority.

Slavery also had an airing. Since 1808 each Annual Conference had been authorized "to make its own rules about buying and selling slaves;" but in 1816 the General Conference resolved that "no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter, where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom." This was a compromise measure. In 1812, a "motion," by an Ohio member, "requesting the Conference to inquire into the nature and moral tendency of slavery was voted to lie on the table."

Enoch George, of the Baltimore Conference, and Robert Richmond Roberts, of the Philadelphia, were elected and consecrated Bishops; the former receiving fifty-seven, and the latter fifty-five votes, out of one hundred and six.

Enoch George was a native of the Northern Neck of Virginia, a region that has been prolific of great men. He was about fifty years of age. At the call of Bishop Asbury he labored in South Carolina and Georgia several years. His health failing, he returned to Virginia, and about 1800 entered the Baltimore Conference, where he filled various important appointments and districts. He is thus described:

Short of stature, but stoutly built. His features were grave, and expressive of strong emotions; his eyes, small and deeply seated beneath an overhanging, heavy brow, twinkled or melted into tears, as the sentiments he uttered might demand; and his voice thrilled or softened the hearts of his auditory, as he poured out his soul with a pathos the writer never heard excelled; for he can never forget a sermon preached in Tennessee at his first visit to that Conference in 1817. His text was, "And this is the victory that overcometh the world—even our faith." There was something in his manner of address, in the tones of his voice, the subdued yet earnest and fervid spirit of the preacher, that affected the whole audience. He explained faith, and illustrated its victory by Bible incidents, in the most simple and appropriate style. Since then I have heard many impressive sermons from the best preachers of the land; they have instructed, charmed, and thrilled me; but I have never heard a man who so strongly wrought upon my feelings, and kept me bathed in tears from the beginning to the close of his sermon. The image of that man of God and the scenes of that hour are still vividly fixed in my memory. He wept over sinners; tears were constantly welling up in his eyes, and without pausing he would slip a finger behind his spectacles and brush away the blinding tear, to be replaced by another at the very next sentence.*

After twelve years of episcopal service he died, greatly beloved. His administrative ability was not of a high order. His feeling of self-distrust was such as to make the duties of public intercourse, which his office drew upon him, embarrassing and painful. For constitutional questions he had no taste. Paul never spoke with more plainness to Peter than did his senior colleague to Enoch George, who held on his way and let constitutional constructions take care of themselves.

The parents of R. R. Roberts moved from Maryland when he was a child, and settled at the western base of the Alleghany Mountains, and amid such scenes he grew up.

At the General Conference of 1808 he appeared as a member,

* *Life and Times of McKendree*, by Paine.

clad in homespun style, but such was the impression produced by his preaching that at the solicitation of many of the most intelligent members of the Church, after the close of the session, Bishop Asbury directed him to quit his work in the Western backwoods, and take charge of the Baltimore City Station. From the competent source before quoted we take the measure of the man and preacher:

The writer first saw Bishop Roberts at the Tennessee Conference of 1817, held in Franklin, and heard him preach in the court-house, on Heb. ii. 3. He held an immense audience as if spell-bound for more than an hour, while he portrayed the fearful consequences of neglecting the "great salvation." He weighed two hundred and twenty pounds. His whole person indicated him to be one of nature's noblemen. His features were large, benignant, and intellectual. His head was of an uncommon size, his forehead high and massive, his eyes blue or hazel colored, his manner of address always easy and graceful, his voice a deep bass, but soft and musical; there was nothing constrained or unnatural in its modulation, but it was an earnest and animated conversational tone. When excited by "thoughts that burn," his majestic frame seemed to expand, and his "mind-illuminated face" glowed. Many years afterward I heard him again in Huntsville, Alabama, on Sabbath morning of the Conference. The text was, "Alleluia: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." It was a glorious sermon—worthy of the man and the occasion, and as worthy of the theme as any I ever heard.

He was remarkable for humility and simple dignity of manners. He was surprised at his own popularity as a preacher, and his election to the episcopacy almost overwhelmed him. He always shunned notoriety, and but for conscience' sake would have retired to his humble cottage-home, in the most secluded portion of Indiana, and spent his life unnoticed and unknown.

He made an excellent Bishop. The only deficiencies under which he labored originated in his size and his sympathies. Owing to his great weight he failed on many occasions to reach the Conferences at the proper time, and occasionally to get to them at all; for, on account of the want of public conveyances, and the condition of the roads, especially in the West and South, he was obliged to travel on horseback, and no horse could be found capable of bearing him through his long tours. His sympathies were so strong that he could not always resist their influence, even though his judgment might demur.

Four years before it had been provided "that the Bishops shall have authority, in the interval of the General Conference, to appoint another Annual Conference down the Mississippi, if they find it to be necessary." They were not able to do any thing in that way. Now the organization had been determined on definitely, and Bishop Roberts's first visitation was to the Mississippi Conference.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Difficulties of Planting Methodism in the South-west—Useful Local Preachers and Laymen—Vick, Bowman, Tooley, Ford, French—From Tombigbee to Attakapas—Nolley's Death—Occupation of New Orleans—Three Conferences.—Lasley, Griffin, Drake, Sellers, Hearn, Hewit, Nixon, Shrock, Owens.

THE territory of the original Natchez Circuit was enriched in the first decade of the century by the immigration of Methodist families from the two Carolinas and from Georgia—Owens, Robertson, Baldrige (five brothers), and Forman. After getting class-meetings and prayer-meetings under way, they resolved to build a church. An eligible spot near a spring having been selected and secured to trustees according to Discipline, proclamation was made for all who were willing to build the Lord's house to meet on a certain day with axes and other tools. They met, and the name of Cæsar, a godly slave who asked to have a hand in the work, is preserved as one of the company. "This will do for our first log," said one, running his eye up the shaft of a tall tree—and he raised his ax. "Stop!" said Thomas Owens. "Stop a moment, if you please. Neighbors and friends, we want the blessing of God on our work; let us begin it with prayer." They lifted their hats and kneeled on the ground, while Thomas Owens prayed so fervently that they felt it was a prophecy of the future prosperity of Spring Hill Church; and so it was. In time finer structures succeeded the log-house, yet the name of each, and of the camp-ground, was Spring Hill. Many souls were born there. The sons of Owens and Robertson were converted and were among the first preachers the Mississippi Territory gave to the Mississippi Conference. "Little Tommie Owens," as he was called, was for fifty-five years a useful and very popular minister. It was a hard task of his life, even when he was eighty years old, to observe the scriptural injunction—"Likewise must the deacons be grave." The logical Winans used to praise and covet the power of Owens in reaching the feelings of an audience. John J. Robertson filled circuits and colored missions with fidelity, retired late in life to the local ranks, and died in his seventy-ninth year, leaving a son who represents him in the traveling ministry.

In the same region, and at an early day, rose up Hopewell and

Bethel, other centers of spiritual power, where revivals and camp-meetings and Conferences made history, and from which laborers went into the vineyard. Considering their influence, such places may well be called sacred.

The coming of Revs. Samuel Sellers and Miles Harper from the Western Conference, in the autumn of 1809, was a signal event to the Church in Mississippi—they left their impress upon the field as few others have done. But before their arrival certain local preachers came, and were soon followed by others, who mightily strengthened the stakes. Newit Vick, with an interesting family, was from Virginia, a preacher of several years' standing and of excellent ability and character. When the attempt was made in 1807 to build a church in Natchez, though living many miles in the country he headed the list with the largest subscription (\$150). In his house near Spring Hill the first Conference was held in 1813. Public-spirited and zealous, he and his large family were a blessing in social as well as in Church life. The advantage of a certain location near the Walnut Hills was taken in by his intelligent eye; the ridges converging there led out into fat lands, and tapped fertile valleys, and by these natural roads a future commerce would seek the river at this point. He possessed it, laid it off into lots, and the city of Vicksburg began to rise. He died in 1819.

About 1810 Matthew Bowman, of South Carolina, settled in Amite county, and without delay opened his commission as a preacher. Soon he collected members enough for the nucleus of a society and, selecting a central point for the older settlements and the newer, they built the famous Midway Church. From it have gone out standard-bearers in other communities and in other States. Bowman, like Vick, preached far and near, baptized and married the people, and buried their dead, and set them an example of energy, thrift, and benevolence in every-day life. The itinerant pastors on their four and six weeks' circuits found them helpers indeed. At the age of three-score and ten Matthew Bowman died, saying, "I find the gospel the power of God unto salvation." Wm. Winans, who had married and fixed his home near Midway and was now become the leading minister of the South-west, preached the funeral-sermon; and seldom had preacher so good a subject. Says the historian of those times: "One of the last great joys of the patriarch's heart on earth was

the powerful conversion of his son James. It occurred a year before his death." He also entered the local ministry and, after preaching for many years in Southern Mississippi, removed west of the river and continued his usefulness in the Ouachita country, living beyond seventy-five years.

Henry Tooley, M.D., a native of North Carolina, settled in Natchez not later than 1811, where his father and brother preceded him, exerting an elevating influence as citizens and Christians. Of Dr. Tooley our historian says: "In all Church matters he took an active part. He was a pillar in the Church. Until enfeebled by age he often officiated as leader in the prayer and class meetings, in addition to his pulpit labors in town and country;" and he died at the age of seventy-five.

The parents of John Ford were of Huguenot ancestry. He and his wife were converted in South Carolina under the ministry of George Dougherty. A family of eight sons and five daughters resembled their parents in fine intelligence and a noble personal appearance. About 1807 John Ford led a small colony from Marion District to that beautiful and fertile spot in the Tennessee River Valley where Huntsville now stands. A year of isolation from civilized society and of exposure to Indian depredations caused them to quit their new home and, building flat-boats, they floated down to the Natchez country. John Ford made his home on Pearl River, east of the older settlements. He was a model citizen, of commanding and sanctifying influence. His home was a rallying-point for Methodism. There he dispensed a Christian hospitality; and as Vick had entertained the first session of the Territorial Conference at Spring Hill, Ford entertained the second session on Pearl River. Four of his sons became Methodist preachers. One of them—Thomas Ford—organized the society and built the first Methodist church at the capital of the State, and had it ready in time for holding the convention to arrange the Centennial celebrations of 1839. John Ford, jr. and David, an older brother, gave to Texas Methodism their useful ministry. Washington Ford was admitted into the Conference in 1830 and, after ten years in the itinerancy, rendered acceptable service as a local preacher until his death.*

*These items, and many following in this chapter, are gathered mainly from the "Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the South-west," by Rev J. G. Jones (1866); and his MS. History of Mississippi Methodism.

John French, an Irishman, but with five or six years' experience as a traveling preacher in the Virginia Conference, found his way into the Tombigbee Valley in 1810. He had married, and must therefore locate—not to get rich, but to support his family. His coming was a benediction to the people and the preachers too, for Sturdevant had been succeeded by Michael Burge and John W. Kennon, and these young preachers needed help in administering the sacraments as well as in discipline. When Burge retired from this field (for the itinerancy relieves by change) John S. Ford was sent to reënforce it.*

In any just account of the rise and progress of the Church in the wilderness, mention must be made of certain godly families that were providentially dispersed as leaven in the lump or as lights in a dark place. Judge Warner, of South Carolina, settled on the Bogue Chitto as early as 1803. Of his seven sons four became preachers, and a fifth an exhorter. Peter Felder also, from the old Edisto Circuit, and others—Sandell, Bickham, Bullock, and Connerly—made their home on the waters of Tangipahoa and Bogue Chitto, streams flowing into Lake Pontchartrain. These had been trained by such pastors as Isaac Smith, Lewis Myers, James Jenkins, and Reddick Pierce, and they brought their family altars with them. They sanctified the Sabbath, supported camp-meetings, built churches, and were the rallying-points and recruiting stations for the itinerant preachers who ranged at large. In the valley of Pearl River were Rawles—two of them preachers—Reagan, Hope H. Lenoir, and other Obedoms with whom the ark of the Lord rested. Going still eastward to the Tombigbee Valley, and to the Chickasawha, Buckatonee, and other streams emptying into Pascagoula Bay, we meet the names of McRae, Godfrey, Horn, Boykin, Funches, Easley, and Hand, with the Church in their houses. Their descendants of the second and third generations have taken the gospel with them and planted the Church in many of the thriving scenes of our later civilization.

* He was not of the Pearl River family of Fords, but after full proof as an evangelist on the frontier, he returned to Georgia, where in old age and well beloved he lately died. J. W. Kennon was one of a gifted and consecrated family of brothers—the other two being Robert L. and Charles L. He died at his post east of the Mississippi, but gave a son (Rev. Robert W. Kennon) to Texas, where he rendered long and valuable service to the Church.

In the spring of 1812 four young men, on horseback, take the road to the West. They are missionaries from South Carolina—Thomas Griffin, Richmond Nolley, Lewis Hobbs, and Drury Powell. At Milledgeville, Georgia, they get passports to go through the Indian Nation, of three hundred and fifty miles; for the Creeks or Muskogeas are directly on their path, and to maintain peace with them the Government is careful to keep out mischief-making men. The missionaries represent to His Excellency what sort of men they are, he is satisfied, their papers are made out, and with a bow they are retiring. "Stop, brethren," says one of them, the pale Nolley, who believed that prayer was never amiss; "stop! The Governor has given us passports through the Nation; let us now ask God to give him a passport from this world to a better." The Governor and his secretary were called to their knees, and they prayed there.

Passing through the wilderness, crossing five rivers and lying out eleven nights, they arrived safely at the Tombigbee Mission, where Nolley's appointment was. He entered upon it at once, visiting and praying with every family on both sides of the river where he had access, teaching the negroes, catechising the children, keeping his fasts and his appointments, to preach. Next spring he was joined by John Shrock, from the Dutch-fork of Edisto, and a heavenly-minded young man—John Ira Ellis Byrd—who gave fifty years of blessed service in the field he was now going to. They were both from the South Carolina Conference, and just risen to deacon's orders. Not many came through the wilderness after them for the next two years. War was begun. Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, had seized the opportunity for revenge. Seeking a far-reaching combination, from Canada to Florida, they visited the Southern tribes to bring them into alliance with England. Arms and rewards were to be furnished at Pensacola and Apalachicola, from ships that were in those waters. The Choctaws and Chickasaws refused the offer and under their chief, Pushmataha, furnished soldiers for defense. The Creeks and Seminoles entered into the league, and at the sign of hostilities the white settlements were thrown into dismay. Deserting their homes, the people built forts, or stations, into which families were crowded. Twelve or fourteen of these were in the fork between the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. The murder of individuals and families and an attack upon

some of the forts kept up alarm; but in August, 1813, Fort Mims, a few miles east of the Alabama River, was attacked by several hundred Indians under the half-breed chief Weatherford, and a horrid massacre followed. Twenty families in the fort were exterminated; only seventeen persons escaped out of two hundred and fifty. The horror of Fort Mims drove nearly all the inhabitants into forts west of the Tombigbee. When the Government troops got in motion the Creek warriors met a terrible retribution, and a treaty of peace with the chiefs that were left was made in August of the next year. The people slowly returned to their desolated homes and farms and, but for the hardy ingenuity and courage peculiar to frontier life, famine must have followed war. The missionaries staid by the people. Shrock insisted on a gun and a port-hole, but Nolley went from fort to fort, a messenger of peace, improving the opportunity of preaching to all the inhabitants. It was a wonder to many how, without guard, the non-combatant Nolley passed on his preaching mission. Whether fortunately preserved from collision with the savages, or whether they were restrained by the Divine edict, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm," so it was, no harm befell him; and when the forts were abandoned the gospel had been sounded abroad through all that country.

Nolley and Shrock had reached their field of labor when the journey of their companions to the West was only half accomplished. Lewis Hobbs spent a year in the limits of the circuit Tobias Gibson had cultivated, and his style reminded the people of their first missionary. He was a weeping prophet, a lovely spirit, and his brief ministry made a deep impression. Part of a year he labored in New Orleans, where his last strength was spent. He sunk into consumption and barely got back to Georgia to die. Drury Powell preached one year beyond the river, and concluded that the time had not come for those people, and returned whence he came. Thomas Griffin was assigned to the most distant and difficult post of all—the Ouachita Circuit. He proved a chosen vessel of the Lord. Few have been so honored in planting Methodism in the South-west. He lived to a good old age, and his memory is blessed by thousands. While Nolley persuaded sinners and Hobbs wept over them, Griffin made them quail and shrink, and hide their faces in fear and shame. There was a clear, metallic ring in his nature. Without

the advantages of fortune or education he made his way by stronger forces. By the camp-fire, on the forest-path, he studied. One of the saddle-bags men—to whom Western civilization is more indebted than to any other class of agents—he mastered the hardy elements of frontier life. Sagacious in judgment, decisive in action, strong in speech, generous-hearted. Memorable awakenings and reformations of notorious and hopeless sinners occurred under his ministry. He would “get on the sinner’s track,” as he phrased it, and press him close, calling conscience to witness as he went along. His language was often more forcible than elegant. The presumptuous sinner was “one of your gospel-slighting, heaven-neglecting, God-provoking, devil-daring, hell-deserving rebels against the majesty of the universe.” The drunkard, in his estimation, “was a far worse character than the frantic suicide who would take a pistol and blow out his brains, thus ridding his family of a pest, and leaving his property for their maintenance; whereas the drunkard, after disgracing his family with his besotted example, afflicting them with his drunken revels, wasting his property, breaking the heart of his wife, and hanging his poor, ragged, uneducated children on the horns of poverty, is in the end a self-murderer.” If he had occasion to hold up the superannuated debauchee in order to show that the way of transgressors is hard, he would describe him as “the very frazzle-ends of humanity; his debauched carcass would disgrace a wolf-trap if put in it for bait.” His scathing denunciation of vice stirred the ire and resentment of the wicked. They had driven off Powell, and a leader of roughs resolved, upon the reports that had reached him, to drive off Griffin. This man went to one of his appointments, listened to a terribly searching and courageous discourse, and after the service was over remarked to some one who had heard his threat that “Mr. Griffin improved on further acquaintance, and he reckoned it was best to have a few such preachers in the country, so he would not interrupt him.”

In 1820 the Mississippi delegation to the General Conference consisted of two preachers—Thomas Griffin and John Lane. Griffin was not pleased at the speeches of certain Northern delegates on slavery; they assumed its sinfulness as a foregone conclusion, and took ground that would have excluded Abraham himself from the Christian Church. The epithets they applied

to slave-holders were by no means to his taste. Southern delegates pleased him little better—their tone was excusatory rather than defensive. To use his own expression, “They were too much like suppliants to suit my feelings.” He made an off-hand speech which, whatever else it lacked, was not lacking in energy of expression. “It appears,” said he, “that some of our Northern brethren are willing to see us all damned and double-damned, rammed, jammed, and crammed into a forty-six pounder, and touched off into eternity.” Thomas Griffin found a good wife among the daughters of John Ford, and after presiding over districts in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama, that are now Annual Conferences, he met the last enemy, as he had met all others—like a Christian hero.

Nov. 1, 1813, the preachers from both sides of the river met at Newit Vick’s to hold the first Mississippi Conference. The time and place had been appointed by the Bishop; but on their east and north-east the Creeks and Cherokees were hostile, and it was yet doubtful whether or not the Choctaws and Chickasaws would join Tecumseh’s league; therefore the Tennessee Conference in October formally advised Bishop McKendree not to adventure himself upon the Natchez trace. Samuel Sellers was appointed president, and William Winans secretary. There were ten members to begin with, and the session lasted four days. For three years they thus met and transacted business, sending their Minutes to Tennessee to be approved and incorporated into the Minutes of that body. Among eight appointments, extending from Louisiana to Alabama, we find “New Orleans, William Winans.” There was in the treasury \$39.18, and “\$30 of this amount was voted to Brother Winans to enable him to fill the Orleans Station.” Of the very few in that very ungodly city of fifteen thousand inhabitants who were willing to own themselves Methodists was a Dutchman—Jacob Knobb—and his wife.* They received the young missionary into their house and rented him, at a moderate price, the ground-floor for a school; it was also the chapel. Here William Winans acted school-master in the week, and parson of evenings and Sundays. His congregations were small, and his membership did not amount to the prescriptive number for a class-meet-

* Not only the man, but the house, deserves record. “He lived in a two-story brick house on Bienville, between Chartres and Royal streets.” (J. G. Jones’s MS.)

ing; but he scrupulously went through all the forms of public and social worship, and had some comfortable times. The fleet and army of Pakenham were beleaguering the city, and the excitement and alarm of war quite closed the little school and church on Bienville street, and he left in time to meet the Conference at John Ford's, on Pearl River, Nov. 14, 1814. No numerical progress was reported, but a *reconnoissance* had been made which was not without value in the future.

In the chapter which names Jacob Knobb let another humble but faithful servant of the Church in New Orleans be remembered—also a foreigner—who stood firmly by the feeble and despised cause when friends were few. From the St. Domingo insurrection Theresa Canu escaped when a girl, and took refuge in Wilmington, North Carolina. There she learned Methodism, and thence removed to New Orleans. She lived long, bravely bore the reproach of Christ, opened her house to the messengers of her Master, and sung and shouted in the little conventicles where Methodism took shelter for many humble years. Theresa Canu was to Methodism in the Crescent City what Mrs. General Russell (sister of Patrick Henry) was to it in the Holston country and Jane Trimble in Ohio, and what Lydia had been to the Church at Philippi.

New Orleans appeared on the Minutes of 1812, with Miles Harper as pastor. There is no record that he achieved anything. Next year the dying Hobbs meditated and prayed along its streets, and sought out a few souls in private houses. Blackman, when in charge of the district which nominally included the city, made an occasional visit, but it is doubtful if he ever preached a sermon. As early as 1805 Elisha W. Bowman vainly searched over the place for standing-ground. The year following Winans's retirement martial law and the closing scenes of war did not increase the prospects of success. There was no fund to support a missionary, and other fields could be occupied to more advantage; so New Orleans disappears from the roll until 1819, when Mark Moore served it as his predecessor had done—teaching and preaching. After him came John Menefee, who subsequently died of yellow fever, and is buried there; and again a retreat was beaten from the city. In 1825 a young man, a native of Kentucky, took charge there,* and from that time Methodism

* He reported twenty-three white members and sixty colored in 1826

has stood in her lot. Next year Benjamin M. Drake was returned. A man of zeal and consecration, he took a place in the early history of Methodism on Lower Mississippi only second to that of Winans: while in the fervor of his style and the telling effect upon the hearts of the people of his long and laborious ministry, he was his superior. About the time Methodism drove down her stake to stay in New Orleans, Mobile took its place permanently in the Minutes—John R. Lambuth, missionary. Both were very hard places; and those who behold their strong and well-ordered churches of to-day cannot realize the weary toil and waiting and cost of life incurred before a firm footing was gained. Especially is this true of New Orleans. Within the life-time of a generation it had been under three different governments. Romanism was intrenched, with all its appliances and consequences. There was no Sabbath. A pleasure-loving, dissolute, and heterogeneous population was divided between superstition and infidelity. The *entrepot* for the Valley of the Mississippi, New Orleans rapidly grew from fifteen to a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, with all the concomitants of luxury and greed. Hundreds, thousands of Methodists and other professing Christians were swallowed up as they came within reach of that moral maelstrom. Fascinated, ensnared by its peculiar blandishments of sin, they became ashamed of, and then denied, their faith. William Winans was in sight when not on the spot to direct the little band, to encourage, and to take advantage of opportunities, and to rally them in time of temporary defeat; and he acted for some while as agent to collect funds abroad to build a church in the strongest stronghold of the world, the flesh, and the devil that existed on the continent during the first thirty years of the present century. If his success was not complete, he at least put the struggling cause in position where others, under more favorable circumstances, could achieve such success.*

Elsewhere in the Valley of the Mississippi the itinerant

*The minister is yet living, and we trust the day is far off when his name can be more freely spoken to, whose pulpit and pastoral fidelity, and administrative power, crowned the work which others began. The systematic and comprehensive plans laid and carried out by Rev. John Christian Keener, D.D. (now Bishop), date the epoch of the present New Orleans Methodism. He was appointed by Bishop Paine pastor of Poydras Street Church in 1848, met the yellow fever and outlived it in 1849, and has since resided in the city, a witness, and under God the chief director, of the prosperous condition of its Methodism.

preacher sowed the seed of the gospel in virgin soil; but in Louisiana tares had been long and plentifully scattered and cultivated. If the occupation of the chief city was delayed and often defeated, and finally achieved at the cost of great labor and suffering patience, the same is equally true of the country. Attakapas, Opelousas, and Ouachita, early appear on the roll of appointments. In our ecclesiastical geography Attakapas* stands for the southern region of the State, with its numerous bays, which are fed by bayous navigable for a short distance; with ocean-like prairies, where cattle is wealth; with lands deep and moist enough to grow sugar-cane; shaded with live-oak, and fanned by gulf breezes, and animated by myriads of alligators and mosquitoes. There are settlements and villages named after every saint in the calendar, and dating back to the French and Spanish occupation of a past century, with here and there an English-speaking or American family. Opelousas is a wide, undefined region, similar in character, lying above Attakapas, and reaching to Red River; and all above the river is Ouachita. A region farther up Red River, and representing the Western limit, is called Rapides. These names figure on the Conference map for a quarter of a century, and represent more heroism in itinerant history than any other section of the Church.

As early as 1805 Bishop Asbury sent a missionary to Louisiana, with directions to begin at New Orleans; and the Old Western Conference raised for his outfit and expenses one hundred dollars. For such a venture he picked a young Kentuckian, who had seen service in the North-western Territory as well as at home, and was consecrated, courageous, and knew how to make his way. Elisha W Bowman traveled the usual route through the wilderness to Natchez and, taking leave of that Methodist outpost, continued down the left bank of the river. A letter of his may give some idea of the situation:

From Baton Rouge, the Spanish garrison on the east bank of the Mississippi River, down two hundred miles, it is settled immediately on each bank by French and Spaniards. The land is dry on each side about forty and in some places fifty rods wide, and then a cypress swamp extends each way to the lakes, and will never admit of any settlements until you cross the lakes to the east and west. When I reached the city I was much disappointed in finding but few American people there, and a majority of that few may truly be called the beasts of men. Mr

* Pronounced At-tuck-a-paw; Tensas, Ten-saw; Ouachita, Wash-i-taw.

Watson, the gentleman to whom I was recommended by Mr. Asbury, had left the city early in the fall and gone home to Philadelphia.*

The missionary went to the Governor and told him his business, and was promised protection, and the capitol to preach in. The appointment was published, but when he came on Sunday he found the doors locked. To a few sailors and creoles who stood about he preached in the open air. The Governor and Mayor, when informed of his treatment, promised to issue an order to put the house at his service on next Sunday; but when Bowman and his landlord and a few others arrived, they found it locked as before. He was among a new set of people, who politely promise in his presence, shrug their shoulders as he leaves, and refuse in the end. Not to be balked, a second sermon was delivered to ten or a dozen hearers outdoors; and the next Sunday also, to a few stragglers in the street. He writes:

The Lord's-day is the day of general rant in this city: public balls are held, merchandise of every kind is carried on, public sales, wagons running, and drums beating; and thus is the Sabbath spent. I sought in vain for a house to preach in. Several persons offered to rent me a house, but I have not money to rent a house. My expenses I found to be about two dollars a day for myself and horse, and my money pretty well spent. I tried to sell my horse, but could not get forty dollars for him. Thus I was in this difficult situation, without a friend to advise me. I was three hundred miles from Brother Blackman, and could get no advice from him; and what to do I did not know. I could have no access to the people, and to go back to Natchez is to do nothing; and to leave my station without Mr. Asbury's direction was like death to me; and to stay here I could do nothing. But by inquiring I heard of a settlement of American people about two hundred miles to the west and north-west. By getting a small boat and crossing the lakes I could reach the Opelousas country; and as I was left to think by myself, I thought this most advisable. I accordingly, on the 17th day of December, shook off the dirt from my feet against this ungodly city of Orleans, and resolved to try the watery waste and pathless desert.

Riding up the west bank of the river to Plaquemine, Bowman took to the lakes and lagoons. On two canoes he built a platform for his horse and, hiring two Spaniards to help row, he crossed "four lakes and a large bay," and reached firm ground, where were a few American families, "who came here in the time of the war, for no good deeds that they had done." "I have now," he says, "three dollars left, but God is as able to

* This letter was found among the papers of Rev. William Burke, to whom it was addressed at Lexington, Kentucky. It is dated Opelousas, Jan. 23, 1806, and was first published in the New Orleans *Christian Advocate*, in 1857.

feed me two years on three dollars as he was to feed Elijah at the brook, or five thousand with a few loaves and fishes." Eighty miles farther on he found "some American families, but no two of them together:"

The next day I reached the Opelousas country, and the next I reached the Catholic church. I was surprised to see a pair of race paths at the church door. Here I found a few Americans who were swearing with almost every breath; and when I reproved them for swearing they told me that the priest swore as hard as they did. They said he would play cards and dance with them every Sunday evening after mass. And, strange to tell, he keeps a race-horse! in a word, practices every abomination. I told them plainly if they did not quit swearing they and their priest would go to hell together.

About twenty miles from this place I found a settlement of American people who came to this country about the time of the American war. They know very little more about the nature of salvation than the untaught Indians. Some of them, after I had preached to them, asked me what I meant by the fall of man, and when it was that he fell. I have to teach them to sing, and in fact do every thing that is like worshiping God. I find it also very difficult to get them to attend meetings; for, if they come once they think they have done me a very great favor.

About thirty miles from here I found another small settlement of English people, who were in as great a state of ignorance as the above; but I get as many of them together as I can, and preach Jesus Christ to them. O my God! have mercy on the souls of this people!

He passed on to the Red River settlements, and thence eastwardly to the Catahoola, opposite Natchez, separated by a swamp sixty miles in extent. "A forlorn Methodist" was met with now and then, as Bowman ranged and preached. The conclusion of his letter to Burke, his father in the gospel, is characteristic:

Many days that I travel I have to swim through creeks or swamps. I tie all my plunder fast on my horse, and take him by the bridle, and swim sometimes a hundred yards. My horse's legs are now skinned and rough to his hock joints, and I have the rheumatism in all my joints; but this is nothing. About eighty miles from here, I am informed, there is a considerable settlement of American people, but I cannot get to them at this time, as the swamps are swimming for miles; but as soon as the waters fall I intend to visit them.

I have now given you a faint idea of my travels, the country, and the people. Let me now tell you how it is with my soul. What I have suffered in body and mind my pen is not able to communicate to you. But this I can say: while my body is wet with water and chilled with cold, my soul is filled with heavenly fire, and longs to be with Christ. And while these periods drop from my pen my soul is ready to leave this earthly house and fly to endless rest. Glory to God and the Lamb! I can say that I never enjoyed such a power and heaven of love as I have done for a few days past. I have not a wish but that the will of God may be done in me, through me, and by me. And I can now say with St. Paul that

"I count not my life dear unto me, so that I may save some." I feel my soul all alive to God, and filled with love to all the human family. I am now more than one thousand miles from you, and know not that I ever shall see you again, but I hope to meet you one day on the banks of Canaan, in the land of rest.

The P. S. adds: "Pardon my scratch, as I have to write on my knee, and a man is waiting at my elbow for these lines. Pray for me." Making allowance for dates, does not that "scratch," written on the knee, read like a chapter in the Acts of the Apostles? How could such a man fail? Whether the three dollars held out or not, so it was, he staid out his time, and reported seventeen members to Conference. Blackman cheered him with a visit during the year and with such vigorous help as he could give a fellow-laborer; and so a beginning was made.

Next year Bowman was appointed to Ouachita. Several Methodist families had moved into that region from the old Natchez Circuit, and though his travels were not diminished, his wardrobe was recruited and his soul refreshed with precious seasons of Christian fellowship.

On the Attakapas and Opelousas he was followed by Thomas N. Lasley, who was converted in the revival of 1800, and became one of the heroes of the next half-century of Methodist history in the Mississippi Valley. The field has been surveyed: it is time to "form a circuit;" and the reader may see how that is done, from Lasley's narrative:

The next morning I crossed the great Mississippi at sunrise, landing about one mile below the mouth of Red River. Having now before me about forty-five miles to the first settlement, and about thirty-five through a swamp, which fortunately was dry, late in the evening I reached the house of a prominent settler on the island—a settlement of high land thickly populated. Mr. Baker having heard of my coming, bid me a hearty welcome, and although in a state of intoxication, treated me with civility, while his family strove to make me happy. It being arranged that I was to preach the following Sabbath, messengers were dispatched to notify the settlers, and I endeavored to preach in the true spirit of my mission. In this my first effort in my new field, the power of God was felt in the congregation. I made an appointment to preach again at candle-lighting, at another house close by, at the request of the family. Here I met a serious congregation. Many wept bitterly on account of their sins, and I was enabled to rejoice that I had not labored in vain. Before dismissal I announced to them that I would meet them again in three weeks, and promised to spend some time with them. Early on Monday morning I left for the next settlement, a distance of forty-five miles, and twenty-five of this through a swamp. Accompanied by a young man as a pilot, we journeyed together six or eight miles, his object being to put me on the right trail through the swamp. This done, we parted. Coming to a slough in which the mud ap-

peared very deep I dreaded to pass, but seeing no way of avoiding, plunged into it, and my horse sinking under me was unable to extricate himself from the mud. I alighted, and took my saddle-bags on my arm. My horse, thus unencumbered, made a powerful struggle and released himself, and soon gained the opposite side. Thankful to Providence for the difficulty overcome, I arrived at a deep, muddy creek, which I supposed to be about sixty or seventy feet wide, where, ever and anon, the alligators rising to the surface of the water rendered the prospect gloomy. Summoning all the fortitude I possessed, and committing myself to the care of God, I fastened my saddle-bags to my shoulder and plunged into the stream. Reaching the opposite shore, I found the bank steep, and that my horse could not rise with me. I sprung from him and gained the bank, which my horse endeavoring to ascend his hind feet sunk in the mud and he fell back into the water. Recovering again, he made the second effort, at which time I threw my weight on the bridle and he reached the bank, pitching forward and falling with one of his fore legs doubled under him in such a manner as to cripple himself. Not being able to put his foot to the ground by several inches, I was apprehensive that he had slipped his shoulder, and of course would not be able to travel from that place. My condition was the subject of reflection, while the poor animal stood trembling under the agony of pain. For a few moments I almost despaired, but throwing myself on my knees before God, I committed my cause into his hands, and prayed most earnestly that he would heal my horse. Feeling within myself that he had heard my prayer, I arose from my knees and found my horse perfectly sound, and immediately recommenced my journey, rejoicing in the Lord. As the shades of night closed upon me I found myself in the most extensive prairie I had ever seen; but the beautiful queen of night soon made her appearance above the waving grass, and uprising into the heavens reflected her borrowed glories on my pathway until I arrived at a habitation, where I was admitted to a shelter. I endeavored to sow the good seed, trusting God for the increase, and left an appointment for my return. On the day following I reached Hayes's settlement, the most interesting part of Opelousas, and met with a Brother Foreman and wife, members of our Church, who received me joyfully. I held a meeting, and leaving a Sabbath appointment with them, I started for the Red River settlements, having a wilderness before me of sixty-five miles. I had to rest in the forest alone for the night, but my God was there and I had nothing to fear. Alexandria, on the banks of Red River, was the next point in which I unfurled the banner of the cross. For many miles around this town is the most fertile country I ever saw, and some parts of it are thickly settled with a mixed population of French, Spaniards, and Americans. Ascending the bayou, I made an appointment at a Mr. Griffin's, where I was ultimately enabled to form a class. My next point was the Catahoola settlements. Here I established two appointments—one at Brother Wiggins's, and the other at Brother Bowie's, whose wife I found to be one of the excellent of the earth. I am sorry that their son is the inventor of that most dreadful weapon called the Bowie-knife. With this young man I was then acquainted—at that time a civil young man.

Having thus laid out my field of labor, upward of three hundred miles in circumference, I returned to the island, where I found an anxiously inquiring people. I remained three days with them, preaching both night and day, and I hope not in vain. I was enabled to form a small class at this place. During this visit

to the island I received a message from Judge Dawson, requesting me to call upon him. I repaired to his residence, about thirty miles distant, and met with a warm reception. His first business was to assure me of his protection and assistance to forward my designs in the amelioration of the condition of the wretched sons and daughters of Adam. He laid before me the inefficiency and want of law, especially the importance of guarding against the unhallowed concubinage almost everywhere existing in his district. We petitioned the Legislature on this subject, praying for action, which met with success, and thus gained one more step toward civilization.

Having concluded my business with the Judge, I made for Opelousas, filling my appointments at several places by the way. At Hayes's settlement I met an interesting congregation, to whom I preached, read our rules, and exhorted them with many words to "flee from the wrath to come." After preaching several times, both night and day, I left for the Red River section of my work. Here I found an attentive people, and was somewhat encouraged. My next prominent point was the Catahoola settlement. I was enabled to form small classes at Brothers Wiggins and Bowie's. From this I returned to the island, and found the society in a good spiritual condition, some two or three having found peace with God. Having now my work before me, my soul was in it, and I was constantly engaged; and, I thank God, I had the pleasure of seeing a goodly number happily converted.*

That mystery of the itinerancy—"forming a circuit"—is now before the reader, and he has made one "round" with the preacher, after the metes and bounds have been determined. The germs of churches and congregations have been planted, and they will grow. In time we shall see a log meeting-house, then a frame building follows, and then it may be a substantial brick. The large circuit will be divided and subdivided as population and membership increase; and Lasley's three weeks' circuit becomes a district, composed of a dozen or more circuits. Thus the cause extends.

With empty purses and well-worn apparel the two missionaries were relieved at the end of this year. The circuit about Clarksville, Tennessee, was grateful to the jaded Lasley; there he had a happy and successful time, and was ready for another missionary movement on the Ohio River at the next Conference. He finished his course with joy in 1857.† Bowman rejoiced in the blue-grass and big meetings of Kentucky once more.

* Letter of the Rev. Thomas Lasley, in the *Western Christian Advocate*, August 7, 1840.

† His grave is at McMinnville, Tennessee, where the veteran died on a visit to one of his children. Speaking of his end, and why he should die at that place, he said: "God will have it so, that these people may see how an old Methodist preacher can die."

Who next shall try hard, unyielding Louisiana? Bishop Asbury selects a man who has seen rough service. Heavy-browed, stout and broad-shouldered; witty and wise, and self-reliant; plain in dress, simple in wants, and zealous; tough in muscle and tender in heart—such was James Axley. He built the first meeting-house on the circuit, and his own hands hewed some of the logs of what was known as Axley's Chapel. He needed clothes, and his old friends sent him some money to buy them, but he spent it for flooring-plank. He wept afterward, talking of his trials.

One evening, after riding all day without dinner, he called at a house where the family consisted of a widow lady, a grown-up daughter, a number of children, and some servants, none of whom were religious. The lady and her family would not grant his request to remain overnight. No, he could not stay; they would have no such cattle about them. But he was loath to leave, for if defeated in obtaining lodging there, nothing remained for him but a berth in the woods, without food or shelter, in an inclement season of the year. As he lingered a little to warm himself and consider how he should manage to pass the night, the thought of his forlorn condition as a homeless stranger, without money or friends, came like a dark cloud over his mind. His sad cogitations proceeded in silence. Then, as was natural in the extremity, he turned his thoughts toward his Heavenly Father's house above, where he hoped some day to find a home free from the ills of mortal life. Being a little cheered with the prospect, without leave, introduction, or ceremony, he began to sing one of the songs of Zion in a strange land:

"Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear;
Thy great Provider still is near.
Who fed thee last can feed thee still;
Be calm, and sink into his will."

As he proceeded his depressed feelings became elevated; the vision of faith ranged above and beyond the desolate wilderness he had just been contemplating as the place of his night's sojourn. The family were melted into tears; the lady called a servant, and ordered him to put the gentleman's horse into the stable, and the daughter added, "Be sure you feed him well."

Axley was willing to leave at the end of one year, and was soon riding wide districts on the Wabash and the Nollichuckee. Next came John Henninger, practical, faithful, and fervent, and

everywhere else successful; then the amiable John S. Ford; but they are soon found in Tennessee and Carolina again. The visits of Harper and of the inspiring Sellers must have been helpful; but at the end of 1813 all the Methodism in Louisiana was represented by eighty-nine white members and ten colored.*

The two missionaries on the Tombigbee are swung round from the extreme eastern to the extreme western boundaries of the Conference.† Nolley is sent to Attakapas and Shrock to Rapides. As the custom was, Nolley had appointments sent before him. The people, hungry for the word, assembled at a house where preaching was to be, and waited long; but the belated parson did not arrive until the congregation had despaired of his coming and, in the free-and-easy hospitality of the frontier, had gone to bed—pallets and mattresses and bear-skins covered the floor, and the heads only of his congregation were in sight. He stood before the fire, took his text, and preached to them. “Who knows,” said he, “but some word may take effect?”

These two preachers held all of Louisiana this year that was occupied by Methodism. Nolley’s saintly bearing and pastoral fidelity gained ground with the people, but could not tame the ruffian spirit. A sugar-planter once drove him away from his smoke-stack, where he craved to warm himself. Sons of Belial took him out of the pulpit at St. Martinsville, and were on their way to the bayou to duck him, when a strange Deborah was raised up: a stout negro woman armed with a hoe vigorously assailed them, and rescued the preacher out of their hands. Shrock, who in youth had been a blacksmith, pursued a defiant policy. An accident, or incident, befell certain lewd fellows who were known as brave disturbers of religious services. On the outskirts of Alexandria, they were teasing the inmates of a house—a couple of women not of the best character—who were honestly engaged at the time boiling soap. A gourdful of the scalding liquid left its mark upon a face or two, and the gallants became the jest of the village. Shrock was preaching afterward at the court-house, and the set appeared at the window, making grimaces and noises. He turned on them with the rebuke that if they did not mend their ways they were in danger of something hotter than boiling soap. The hit was

* Thus distributed—Attakapas, 65 white, 10 colored; Ouachita, 12 white. Rapides, 12 white. † They report 197 white members and 54 colored in Alabama.

palpable; and they and their allies sent him word that on his return he should be ducked in the river. Shrock's few friends were concerned for his safety, and desired him to miss the next appointment. But he let it be known that, Providence permitting, he would be on hand when the time came; and he was—and a large crowd also. Moving straight to the Judge's seat, which served for a pulpit, he conducted a brief religious service, watching as well as praying. At the place where "notices" usually come in he called attention to the state of affairs; opened his sleeve and rolled it back, showing an arm of fearful muscular power. "Look at *that*," said he; "do you think my Master gave me such a means of defense for nothing?" He concluded by informing all concerned that he did not feel it to be his duty to submit to the shameful treatment Nolley had received at St. Martinsville. He gave out his next appointment, and added, "he understood the use of the court-house would probably be denied him thereafter; and if it was, that large cottonwood-tree on the commons, near the bank of the river, would answer his purpose, and he would preach there." Taking up his saddlebags and coat, he passed out. When near his horse he heard his name called, and turning round saw a man approaching him at a quick step. "Do you come as a friend or foe?" inquired the short, stout-built preacher, squaring himself. "I am your friend, Mr. Shrock," replied the man, and taking him cordially by the hand, continued: "I come to invite you to dine with me to-day, and hereafter to make my house your home in Alexandria. You are the very man we need here to manage these cowardly disturbers of our place of worship."

This citizen disclosed a view of the defect of Christian civilization then and there prevailing, and the heavy grade to be everywhere overcome by pioneer preachers. According to this view a disturbance of public worship is not an offense against the congregation, but against the preacher only. It is his business not only to preach to the people a free gospel, but to maintain the conditions for their hearing it.

The reports made at the Conference on Pearl River in 1814-15 were meager. The people who were not in the armies were sorely pressed by the embargo. There was a dearth of hymn-books, and the Conference authorized its President to make a selection of hymns, and publish the same in pamphlet form. "Sellers's

Selections of Hymns and Spiritual Songs" was soon in every church and household. There were elections to orders, but no ordinations; and Thomas Griffin acted as presiding elder one year before he was an elder.* These and other war measures indicate the straits of the Methodists in the South-west, cut off from all communication, commercial and ecclesiastical, with their brethren and the rest of the world.

From the Conference Richmond Nolley was sent back to Attakapas—the membership had been increased by one-third the year before, and his return was desired. Thomas Griffin was assigned to Ouachita. Together they crossed the river, and traveled through the swamp. Then they parted with embraces and tears—Griffin going northward, and Nolley bending in the other direction. On the afternoon of November 25th, a cold and rainy day, he came to a fitful, swollen stream. From a village of Indians near the creek he procured a guide and proceeded to the ford, and leaving his valise and saddle-bags attempted to ride it. The current bore his horse down; the banks were steep and he could not get out. In the struggle he and his horse parted. He got hold of a bush and pulled himself out; his horse swam back to the shore from which they started. Directing the Indian to keep his horse till morning, and to bring him over with his baggage, he started for the nearest habitation, about two miles distant.

He had gone but a little way when the angels met him. With sweet surprise, Nolley found himself in the land of Beulah, though in a dreary swamp of Louisiana. Beholding the "shining ones," he doubtless exclaimed with him of old, "This is God's host!" Fancy must supply what history fails to record, for there were none present save those from the sky. It was Friday, his fast-day. Chilled and exhausted—the cold and darkness every moment becoming intenser—he sunk down about three-fourths of a mile from the ford. He seemed conscious of his approaching end. The prints of his knees were in the ground, showing what his last exercise had been. Having commended his soul to God, with what sense of the nearness of heaven it may be supposed, he had laid him down at the roots of a clump of pines. The itinerant preacher received his discharge. There he lay on

*The historian whose authority is best on the transactions of these years says: "The appointment was made with the understanding that he was not to administer the Lord's Supper." (J. G. Jones's MS.)

the cold ground and wet leaves, at full length, his eyes neatly closed, his left-hand on his breast and his right a little fallen off. The solitary spot and the gloomy surroundings were not incompatible with finishing his course with joy. Next day, the high water having fallen, the Indian crossed over and found on the road-side first the heavy over-coat that had been laid off, and next the corpse. It was taken to the house he was trying to reach, and the neighbors gathered to the burial on Sunday. Slowly the news reached the circuit and spread among the people. The effect was profound and conciliating.

Richmond Nolley was only thirty years old at his death, and had been preaching seven years. He kept his body under, perhaps to excess—not allowing it sufficient rest and food for the best working conditions. Every morning he was up at four o'clock—at prayer, at reading, at work. His emaciated frame offered excuses for relaxation, which he refused to accept. One said, "Your health must be very bad." "It is natural for me to look so," he replied; "on the contrary, I have the best of health." His manner seemed to say, "The Lord is at hand," "the Judge standeth at the door." Constitutional feebleness was upborne by a heavenly zeal.

It is not claimed that he was strong, or learned, or eloquent. He was not. Moral power is not in proportion to mental vigor; its elements lie above and beyond. What avails the clear and cold statement of truth—even divine truth—if it touch not the heart nor move the man? It is the evident sincerity, the home appeal, the word commended to the conscience of the hearer, the peroration all quivering with feeling, the *unction*, that constitutes the preacher's power. The soldier may have wisdom, but if he lack courage he is totally out of character. Neither can the counselor's courage stand him in the place of wisdom. Whatever the preacher may or may not be, without this one quality of moral power he is nothing. This had Nolley.

In the winter of 1815 Bishop McKendree sent John Lane and Ashley Hewit, from the Conference at Charleston, to the West. Passing by the scene of the Fort Mims massacre and many a charred cabin in the latter end of their journey, they crossed the Alabama River at Fort Claiborne. On the Tensas Hewit's circuit began, but his companion had yet three hundred miles to go. Lane was gentle and noble in form and spirit; so was his ministry in

the Lord for half a century. Marrying one of the daughters of Newit Vick, he passed his middle and old age in Vicksburg, graced with Christian labor and hospitality. Hewit spent the rest of his life mainly in Louisiana, and made many rich though he died poor.

The Conference of 1816 met at Pine Ridge, near Natchez. In an upper room of William Foster's double log-house the sessions were held. Its eight members included Elijah Gentry, Peter James, and Tommie Owens—home products. Despairing of the promised episcopal visitation, they were proceeding with business, when on Friday a horseman, slow and weary, rode up. Bishop Roberts never had a heartier greeting. He was in time to close up. On Saturday, when the list of elders elect was under consideration, Shrock was called before the Conference to give account of the Alexandria affair. If the exaggerated reports were true, his election might be canceled for unministerial conduct. He rehearsed the matter, in order, and was passed; but the Bishop thought he saw a little of the old Adam in his self-gratulatory spirit, and said, "Put up thy sword, Peter!" The tone and manner of the rebuke were long remembered by those present as most effective, and Shrock himself confessed to an instant and sensible shrinkage. On Sunday he held his first ordination. A multitude had come from a distance and, according to the manner of those times, there was an unbroken service of several hours' duration. Ex-president Sellers preached the opening sermon (Col. i. 28), and the deacons elect, who had been accumulating for three years, were ordained. The Bishop ascended the stand and preached (Jer. ix. 23, 24); and then, assisted by Sellers and Hewit, ordained to the order of elders Thomas Nixon, William Winans, and John Shrock.* "The whole scene," says our local chronicler, "the first ever witnessed in Mississippi, was solemn and full of encouragement as to the future of the Church in this detached portion of the vineyard."

The membership had been decreasing for two years. At this date it was 1,706 white members, 540 colored.† Now the prospect widens. Cut off from help heretofore, they are henceforth

* Thomas Griffin and John S. Ford had met Bishop Asbury at Bethlehem, Tennessee, the year before, and received elder's orders. The latter did not return.

† Distributed as follows: Mississippi, 1,289 whites, 402 colored; Alabama, 257 whites, 96 colored; Louisiana, 130 whites, 32 colored.

brought into Connectional sympathy. Bishop Roberts not only strengthened them by his labors and counsel, and by looking out places to which he at once transferred men from the older Conferences, but he brought them \$200 as their annual dividend from the profit of the Book Concern, and \$130 from the Charter Fund; whereas the whole of their Conference collection for the relief of the traveling preachers who had not got their disciplinary allowance was \$69. What a relief was this! Hewit had received \$60 for his year's work in the Tombigbee, and Owens had served Rapides for only \$39. Peter James had been on Nolley's last circuit, and received \$41; but out of the "Conference Fund" they were able to pay him \$59. Every man had fallen short, more or less, of his salary; but it was made up to the round, full ONE HUNDRED. Besides, two orphan children got \$48 --and lo, they had a surplus of \$100, which they sent to their more needy brethren of the Missouri Conference, to help them out. They adjourned to meet in 1817, at Midway, when Bishop McKendree was with them. This year the western half of Mississippi was admitted as a State into the Union, and the eastern half set off as Alabama Territory. Louisiana had been admitted in 1812; a pretty large Conference—two States and a Territory.

In 1824 the Conference met in Tuscaloosa, and such appointments as Cahawba, Conecuh, and Marion indicate that the space between the Georgia and the Alabama frontiers is lessening. Ebenezer Hearn, from the cedar-brakes of Tennessee, is in position on a field which forms one of the fairest portions of the Church, and with the development of which his name is so worthily associated. First and last, as presiding elder or circuit preacher, he covered the whole ground from Attakapas to Chattahooche. With him are Levert, Abernathy, Clinton, Burpo, Dickinson, Pierson, Pipkin, and Patton. That courtly man, John C. Burruss, gave some years to Alabama; and so did Alexander Sale. By 1832 Alabama took its place among the Conferences; and in 1860 had on its roll 237 traveling preachers, over 46,000 white members, and 27,800 colored. As for Louisiana, at one time it was suggested in the Bishop's Council that it might be best to withdraw the preachers and appropriate their labors to a more promising field; and the subject was gravely discussed. Hewit interceded. "Was it sound policy," said he, "to lose what little

had been gained by so much privation and toil? What would become of those few sheep in the wilderness?" The conclusion was to appropriate two preachers to that field, and the appointments for 1818 stand thus: Louisiana District, Ashley Hewit, presiding elder; Attakapas, Thomas Nixon; Ouachita, Ashley Hewit. It was *two* preachers for years.

Hewit and one more bravely held the ground until help came. By conversion and immigration godly laymen and local preachers were gradually added; fresh and vigorous itinerants were thrown in; prospects brightened; in 1846 the Louisiana Conference was organized in the town of Opelousas; and in 1860 it had six districts, 89 traveling preachers, 10,222 white members, and 7,489 colored. Of this membership New Orleans reported 1,382 white and 1,937 colored; and Louisiana stood at the front in ministerial support and missionary offerings.

The mother Conference, having set off two others, in 1860 numbered 142 traveling preachers, and over 20,000 white members and 17,000 colored. And thus was Methodism planted in the South-west. In less than fifty years from the day Tobias Gibson landed at Natchez from his canoe, it had spread east and west, and down to the Gulf coast, and had entered the neighboring Republic of Texas—furnished with church-buildings, schools and colleges, and periodical literature; served by an able ministry, and wielding over all that land a social power and a religious influence unequaled by any other Church.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Missionary and Tract Societies Formed—African Churches Organized—Education—Joshua Soule Resigns an Election—Constitutional Questions—McKendree's Position—Methodist Protestants—Soule and Hedding Elected Bishops—Capers, Emory, Waugh, Bangs, Bascom, Fisk—Canada Methodism set off.

THE polity of Methodism engaged much attention from the General Conference of 1816 to that of 1828. Within this period may be dated the settlement of questions and the establishment of institutions that are important in the Church's history. A "Tract Society" was organized in 1817, in New York, by some creative minds, having opportunity for mutual coöperation, to aid in circulating cheap religious publications. It was closely identified with the Book Concern, which printed and circulated its issues, and at first kept its accounts without any other agency. This was in line with Wesley's policy of cheap and wholesome reading for the people—itinerant preaching by the press.

An effort to assist the Rev. Mark Moore in establishing the Church at New Orleans suggested to Joshua Soule, Nathan Bangs, Laban Clark, and Freeborn Garrettson the great movement of the period—the formation of a Missionary Society. The cry for help came up from other quarters also—the North-western fields and the newly-begun Indian Missions. Under special appeals from the Bishops, collections had been made for individual and local wants. Bishop Asbury had carried around a "mite subscription" for years, to raise money for the preachers who were distressed in their circumstances, traveling on frontier settlements and performing purely missionary work; and his last act, in his dying-chamber, was to request that the "mite subscription should be presented," but he was told that no strangers were present. Why not organize for help in general, and for a systematic collection and distribution? The labors of Methodists had been so largely missionary in their character that little had been thought of missions as understood by others. But now the societies at the centers were strong and the subject began to attract attention, and they organized a Missionary and Bible Society in the city of New York in 1819. This dual character was maintained for seventeen years, when the Bible depart-

ment of the society was eliminated in view of coöperating with the American Bible Society.

An interesting history is that of two large secessions of negro members which proved successful. The first occurred in Philadelphia, resulting in the "African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America." The Preface to their Discipline, signed by their six bishops, says:

In November, 1787, the colored people belonging to the Methodist Society of Philadelphia convened together in order to take into consideration the evils under which they labored, arising from the unkind treatment of their white brethren, who considered them a nuisance in the house of worship, and even pulled them off their knees, while in the act of prayer, and ordered them to the back seats. For these, and various other acts of unchristian conduct, they considered it their duty to devise a plan in order to build a house of their own, to worship God under their own vine and fig-tree. In this undertaking they met with great opposition from an elder of the Methodist Church (J. McC.), who threatened that if they did not give up the building, erase their names from the subscription paper, and make acknowledgments for having attempted such a thing, in three months they should all be publicly expelled from the Methodist Society. Not considering themselves bound to obey this injunction, and being fully satisfied that they should be treated without mercy, they sent in their resignations.

Being now as outcasts, they had to seek for friends where they could, and the Lord put it into the hearts of Dr. Benjamin Rush, Mr. R. Ralston, and other respectable citizens, to interpose for them, both by advice and assistance, in getting their building finished. Bishop White also aided them, and ordained one from among themselves, after the order of the Protestant Episcopal Church, to be their pastor.*

Legal difficulties were raised as to the control of their house and the government and revenues of the congregation. Bishop White failed to capture them, if he had any such proselyting design, and another turn was given to affairs:

In 1793 the number of the serious people of color having increased, they were of different opinions respecting the mode of religious worship, and, as many felt a strong partiality for that adopted by the Methodists, Richard Allen, with the advice of some of his brethren, proposed erecting a place of worship on his own ground, and at his own expense, as an African Methodist meeting-house. As soon as the preachers of the Methodist Church in Philadelphia came to a knowledge of this they opposed it with all their might, insisting that the house should be made over to the Conference or they would publish them in the newspapers as imposing on the public, as they were not Methodists. However, the building went on, and when finished, they invited Francis Asbury, then Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to open the house for divine service, which invitation he accepted, and the house was named Bethel. (See Gen. xxviii. 19.)

*The Doctrines and Discipline of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. 2mo, pp. 332. A. M. E. Church Book Concern, Philadelphia. 1873.

The congregation—so says the historical Preface we are quoting—obtained from the Legislature, by petition, a supplemental charter intended to relieve them from the grievances of white government; but this “exasperated their opponents,” who “proposed supplying them with preaching if they would give six hundred dollars per year to the Methodist Society. The congregation not consenting, they fell to four hundred dollars; but the people were not willing to give more than two hundred dollars per year.” This price being agreed on, the African brethren soon had occasion to complain of the quality of service:

For this sum they [the whites] were to preach for them [the blacks] twice a week during the year. But it proved to be only six or seven times a year, and sometimes by such preachers as were not acceptable to the Bethel people, and not in much esteem among the Methodists as preachers. The Bethel people being dissatisfied with such conduct, induced the trustees to pass a resolution to give but one hundred dollars per year to the Methodist preachers. When a quarterly payment of the last sum was tendered it was refused and sent back, insisting on the two hundred dollars, or they would preach no more for them. At this time they pressed strongly to have the supplement repealed; this they could not comply with.

Richard Allen had been a Southern slave; but, self-redeemed, he was doing a thrifty mechanic's business and had accumulated property in Philadelphia. The white brethren now tried a counter movement: they fixed up a house “not far from Bethel,” and “an invitation was given to all who desired to be Methodists to resort thither.” But the new house failed to draw. The historical Preface continues:

Being disappointed in this plan, Robert R. Roberts, the resident elder of St. George's charge, came to Bethel and insisted on preaching to them and taking the spiritual charge, for they were Methodists. He was told he should come on some terms with the trustees; his answer was that he did not come to consult with Richard Allen nor the trustees, but to inform the congregation that on next Sabbath-day he would come and take the charge. They told him he could not preach for them under existing circumstances. However, at the appointed time he came, but having taken previous advice, they had their preacher in the pulpit when he came, and the house so fixed that he could not get more than half-way to the pulpit. Finding himself disappointed, he appealed to those who came with him as witnesses, that “that man,” meaning the preacher, “had taken his appointment.”

Several respectable white citizens (who knew the colored people had been ill used) were present, and told them not to fear, for they would see them righted, and not suffer Roberts to preach in a forcible manner; after which Roberts went away.

The next elder stationed at Philadelphia was Robert Birch, who, following the example of his predecessor, came and published a meeting for himself; but the aforementioned method was adopted, and he had to go away disappointed. In consequence of this he applied to the supreme court for a writ of *mandamus*, to know why the pulpit was denied him, being an elder. This brought on a law-suit, which ended in favor of Bethel.

The Rev. John Emory, in 1814, by a circular letter, disowned pastoral responsibility for them, which the African brethren thought a disowning of them. They called a general convention of colored Methodists in April, 1816, to organize, and "taking into consideration their grievances, and in order to secure their privileges and promote union among themselves, it was resolved that the people of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and all other places who should unite with them, should become one body under the name and style of the 'African Methodist Episcopal Church.'" Richard Allen was their first bishop. He has had some able successors, the majority of whom were born and converted in slavery.* The African Methodist Episcopal Church is the largest negro Church in the world, and well organized. Their doctrines and discipline are closely modeled on the old Methodist Episcopal plan. Pretty soon the colored Methodists in the city of New York declared for independence. They struck out a different plan, and organized the "African Methodist Episcopal (Zion's) Church," to be governed by bishops quadrennially elected, but not set apart by the usual forms of ordination. Their local church was Zion; hence they are called Zionites, in distinction from Bethelites. The two are nearly equal in numbers.†

The General Conference of 1820 strongly approved the Missionary and the Tract Societies, and made them Connectional. The troubles growing out of the presence of Wesleyan mis-

* He died in 1831; but the denomination has had a succession of able superintendents, some of whom have been remarkable for administrative talent and pulpit eloquence. Of its eight bishops, three of whom have died, all were slaves except one. In the United States they have (in 1867) ten Conferences, 550 preachers, including five bishops, but exclusive of 1,500 local preachers, and about 200,000 members. They have Church property to the amount of \$4,000,000, a Book Concern in Philadelphia, a weekly newspaper, and a college in Ohio. (Stevens's History of the M. E. Church, Vol. IV.)

† There were about 840 Africans in the [New York] city Methodist churches in 1818, but in 1821 only 61 remained. (Ibid.) To these organizations Methodism at the North, in fact if not in form, relegated the religious instruction of the negroes for a half century. They have, in later years, spread through the South.

sionaries in Canada grew worse, and the Bishops were empowered to send a delegate to confer with the British Methodists on the subject. John Emory accordingly visited England on this business, and brought it to an amicable issue. Lower Canada became connected with the English Methodists, and Upper Canada retained its former connection with Episcopal Methodism; each body withdrawing all its preachers from the other's ground, and agreeing in no way to interfere therewith. Emory bore a fraternal letter to the British Conference proposing an interchange of delegates with that body, which was accepted, and Revs. Messrs. Reece and Hannah appeared as fraternal messengers from British to American Methodism at the next General Conference. John Emory was a native of Maryland, and bred to the bar, which he left, with the brightest prospects, for the ministry. His father, though a Methodist, was so grieved at the sacrifice which his gifted and promising son made, that for a long time he would not hear him preach. He was a polished shaft, capable of any service, the most difficult or laborious; and this, his first public service for the Church, was so admirably performed that the eyes of all were upon him henceforth.

The year 1820 marks the renewal of interest in education. It was recommended that district schools and colleges be established, and the Bishops were authorized to appoint presidents, principals, or teachers, to all such establishments. "But," says a writer, "this was not effected without some opposition. Though the Church owed so much to the learning of its founders, some did not realize the importance of education. This may be attributed in part to the superior success of our preachers in the absence of literary training, over that of others who had been professionally educated for the work."

During the next four years Augusta College was founded in Kentucky, under the patronage of the Kentucky and Ohio Conferences, being the first college successfully organized after the failure at Abingdon and Bethel. A number of useful and distinguished men were employed and educated in its halls.

It was agreed that an additional bishop was needed. Joshua Soule, then Book Agent, received forty-seven votes out of eighty-eight, and was elected; Nathan Bangs received thirty-eight. Six days afterward, resolutions on the election of presiding elders, similar to those rejected by previous General Conferences,

were adopted. Thereupon Joshua Soule, for whose consecration the time had been fixed, addressed to the Bishops a note saying:

In consequence of an act of the General Conference, passed this day, in which I conceive the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church is violated, and that episcopal government, which has heretofore distinguished her, greatly enervated, by a transfer of executive power from the episcopacy to the several Annual Conferences, it becomes my duty to notify you, from the imposition of whose hands only I can be qualified for the office of superintendent, that under the existing state of things I cannot, consistently with my convictions of propriety and obligation, enter upon the work of an itinerant general superintendent.

The matter was brought into the Conference, where it was "moved that Brother Soule be, and hereby is, respectfully requested to withdraw his resignation, and submit to the wishes of his brethren in being ordained a bishop." This prevailed, forty-nine voting for it. When this was stated to Joshua Soule he still insisted upon "resigning his election." His opinions were well known, and he had been elected by a majority of nine over Dr. Bangs, who (though he changed his views afterward on that point) was a representative of the other party.

It seems that Bishop George held an interview with the special committee of six (three from each side) who were seeking for a compromise or accommodation plan to settle a question that was continually obtruding itself. Some of the opponents of change got the impression that the resolutions, as slightly amended, were divested of their unconstitutional features, and being weary of strife, for peace's sake, they either voted for them or declined to oppose them, and they were adopted without debate by a vote of sixty-one to twenty-five.

The situation of Joshua Soule, who had been strong and decided heretofore, kept him silent pending the question. Hearing of this action Bishop McKendree, who had retired into the country for rest until the ordination, returned to the city and called the Bishops together. He expressed to them his decided conviction that the action was in violation of the third Restrictive Rule, as it changed the plan of the general superintendency. Bishop Roberts concurred with him in this view, but did not wish to make any personal opposition. Bishop George declined to express any opinion as to its infringement of the constitution, but expressed himself in favor of what had been done. The majority of the Conference, finding that their action had been taken in a misunderstanding, voted to suspend the resolu-

tions for four years, and they directed the Bishops to administer under the Discipline as it had previously stood.

Joshua Soule adhering to his position, the Bishops requested that another election be held, as they needed an additional colleague. The majority expressed their purpose to reëlect Soule, and the minority finding them resolute, "protested," and petitioned the Bishops to withdraw their request and let the election be deferred for four years. Whereupon Bishops George and Roberts agreed to perform the extra labor.

The working of a system discloses its weaknesses and its strength. A defect in the constitution of 1808 now appeared: How shall it be determined whether an act of the General Conference is contrary to, or in conflict with, the Restrictive Rules? Before the session concluded, an effort was made to establish a method by which the constitutionality of measures could be properly tested. A resolution was passed recommending the Annual Conferences so to alter the Discipline that if a majority of the Bishops judged a measure unconstitutional they should return it to the General Conference with their objections within three days, and a majority of two-thirds should be required for its final passage. This resolution, however, was not concurred in by the Annual Conferences. The same fate met a similar effort four years later. This want of a constitutional test must be supplied sooner or later—by the civil, if not by the Church, courts.*

Having no other resort Bishop McKendree addressed the Annual Conferences. He was more concerned to save the constitution than to save any part of the government protected by the constitution. Fully persuaded that the action taken was inexpedient and unwise, yet if it must be done let it be done according to the fundamental law. Therefore, for the twofold reasons of harmony and legality, he recommended to the Annual Conferences such an alteration of the third Restrictive Rule as would

* This want was not supplied until 1870, when the following amendment was made to the constitution by the General Conference voting 160 yeas to 4 nays, and the Annual Conferences concurring by 2,024 yeas to 9 nays: "When any rule or regulation is adopted by the General Conference which, in the opinion of the Bishops, is unconstitutional, the Bishops may present to the Conference which passed said rule or regulation their objections thereto, with their reasons, in writing, and if the General Conference shall, by a two-thirds vote, adhere to its action on said rule or regulation, it shall then take the course prescribed for altering a Restrictive Rule." (*Proviso in Discipline M. E. Church, South.*)

allow the suspended resolutions to be adopted.* Seven out of twelve gave judgment against the resolutions as unconstitutional, but recommended such a change in the Restrictive Rule as would let them pass. The other five Annual Conferences refused to take action because it would imply that a majority of the General Conference had not full power to act finally, and they expected to have that majority in the next session.†

However, the elections preceding the session of 1824 showed that the majority of delegates chosen were opposed to the contemplated alterations. Accordingly, May 24th, the following

*For the text of this Rule see foot-note, page 513.

† The views of Bishop McKendree may be thus summed up: It is the duty of the Bishops, as general superintendents, to carry into effect the laws made by the General Conference; therefore, they are elected by that body, and amenable to it for their moral and official conduct. In this way uniformity may be preserved throughout the Annual Conferences, and errors in the administration corrected; while the administration, even from the very extremities of the work, through the responsibility of the General Superintendents, is brought under the inspection and control of the General Conference.

The presiding elder, ever since the office was constituted in 1792, is the agent or assistant of a Bishop; is part of the executive government; and in his district is authorized to discharge all the duties of the absent Bishop, except ordination. The authority by which the Bishop is enabled "to oversee the business of the Church" consists largely, therefore, in the power of appointing the presiding elders. In case they should neglect or refuse to do their duty, as laid down in the Discipline, it becomes the duty of the General Superintendent to remove such from office, and supply their places with others who will carry out the law. But if the presiding elders are elected by the various Annual Conferences, they may counteract the General Superintendent, or clash with each other, administering law differently in different places. How could the General Conference then hold the Bishop responsible for the perversion or contempt of its laws? One Annual Conference may sustain a presiding elder in an administration for which another Annual Conference would condemn him. The General Conference, in thus transferring executive power from the General Superintendents to the Annual Conferences, effectually destroys its own power of regulating the general administration; and the connection between making laws and executing them ceases.

But if the Church is minded to have it so, the constitution ought first to be changed; for the general superintendency that was placed under the protection of its Third Article is essentially different from what this new rule would make it. Otherwise, the senior Bishop insisted that not the episcopacy alone was involved, but every interest which the constitution was meant to guard was liable to be overridden by the power of a mere majority vote. Such a precedent, he concluded, "would effectually divest the members of our Church of all constitutional security for their rights, and reduce them to the necessity of depending entirely on the wisdom and goodness of the General Conference for those inestimable blessings"

preamble and resolution were moved and considered in the General Conference:

Whereas a majority of the Annual Conferences have judged the resolutions making presiding elders elective, and which were passed and then suspended at the last General Conference, unconstitutional: therefore,

Resolved, That the said resolutions are not of authority, and shall not be carried into effect.

The vote was taken by ballot—sixty-three in favor and sixty-one against it, and the motion was pronounced “sustained.”

But the ghost would not down, and near the close of the session the “resolutions” were declared to be “unfinished business,” and suspended until the next General Conference.

The field was enlarging and the health of the senior Bishop was becoming more feeble; therefore, on May 26th two additional bishops were elected—Joshua Soule and Elijah Hedding.*

The next four years were marked by agitation. American Methodism had two irrepressible questions—an English heritage—that could not be settled inside the body. One, about this time, worked out of it; and the other, twenty years later, divided it. The English plan of making appointments was never suited to America. There, one Conference, which is both Annual and General, meets in a small territory; remote stations and circuits can communicate with it during its sessions; and people can object to proposed appointments as well as preachers. The chairmen of districts, though elected by them, are held responsible to the central law-making Conference for carrying out its rules and regulations. Here, a very small number of stations and circuits can communicate with an Annual Conference while in session. The preachers might have an opportunity of discussing proposed appointments, but the people would not. Moreover, while with us there are many Annual Conferences, there is only one General Conference having power to make laws which meets once in four years, and administers or executes its laws through general superintendents, or Bishops, elected by it and amenable to it for their moral and official conduct. Presiding elders (corresponding to chairmen of districts), who assist in executing

* 123 votes were given, of which Joshua Soule had 64, William Beauchamp 62, Elijah Hedding 61, John Emory 59. On balloting the second time 128 votes were given, of which Joshua Soule had 65, Elijah Hedding 64, William Beauchamp 62, John Emory 58. John Emory withdrew his name, and Elijah Hedding was elected on the third ballot.

laws, are amenable only to their Annual Conferences. Yet upon an American Conference system, that had grown up so different from the English, by reason of social facts and continental distances, there was a persistent effort from the beginning to ingraft the English idea. O'Kelley began it, encouraged by the knowledge of Dr. Coke's sympathy; and the latter obtruded the subject upon every opportunity, after O'Kelleyism had significantly failed. The end of the strife comes now in a formidable secession. The discussion on electing presiding elders led to discussions as to the rights of local preachers, for they claimed that when officers were to be elected they had a right, in some way, to take part. The excitement spread to the membership, who suggested that their rights should be represented when class-leaders were appointed, and when changes were proposed in Church economy. And all malcontents found utterance in a very vigorous paper called *Mutual Rights*. "In its pages inflammatory articles were published, and severe attacks were made upon the economy of the Church. The English system was represented as superior to the American, and it was claimed that the excitement was sweeping over the Church." The combination was a threatening one. "Union Societies" were formed among the members who favored reform, both to spread their principles and to support each other in case of prosecution by the Church.

Of course, as Baltimore had been the seat of every General Conference except one, the commotion was greatest there. Her preachers and people had been entertained with so many discussions on the evils of Church economy that the dissatisfied element was readily organized. Bishops and presiding elders were denounced as tyrants, and the people were invited to contend for their rights. In 1827 a convention was called in Baltimore, which laid down a platform of principles and appointed a committee with authority to call a second convention when they should deem it advisable.

Strong memorials—demands—were addressed to the ensuing General Conference, which met for the first time west of the Alleghany Mountains, in the city of Pittsburg. But by this time the conservative elements had rallied against the destructive rush of threatened revolution. Even lay delegation, the last plank and the most popular one in the new platform, could not then be considered with the favor which it received at a later

day. The temper on both sides, in the greatly widened controversy, was unfavorable to concession. The reformers were aggressive and hopeful, for several reasons. They believed their cause just; it was favored by the political tendency of the country; an envious element of sectarianism which once existed in other denominations, and was ever ready to humble Methodism, was forward and loud to encourage disaffection; but chiefly they miscalculated as to the final adhesion of men who had, at one time or other, expressed views in sympathy with their own. Even Bascom uttered some sentiments, in the heyday of his blood, which were not in harmony with his maturer life as one of the strongest, steadiest, and most trusted leaders of Episcopal Methodism the Church has ever had. Hedding leaned that way once, on the original question, and Bangs and Waugh. Emory criticised and antagonized Bishop McKendree and Joshua Soule for the prompt, resolute means they used to save the constitution. Bishop George, in judicial weakness, and Bishop Roberts, by amiable irresolution, in the primary movement let the ship drive. But now, when the radical tendencies of these things were seen, the conservatives closed ranks and stood firm. The report of the General Conference, made by John Emory, was kind, strong, and conclusive, and put an end to the hopes of the reformers, who proceeded to the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church. Some who originally favored modifications, so soon as the proposed measures, which lay at the bottom, had been declared unconstitutional, declined further agitation. Methodism had been demonstrated a most efficient plan for spreading the gospel. Practically it had never oppressed them; if any were oppressed it was the class who did not complain but were complained against—the itinerant preachers. Thoughtful men must not be counted on to join in a theoretical and destructive reform because every pin and screw in the tabernacle that has sheltered them is not exactly to their notion. Unfortunately, a reform which began in principles drifted largely into personalities. “The most ungracious assault,” says a writer well informed in the literature of that day, “was that which was made upon Bishop George. Such, generally, is the lot of those who, while favoring partial changes, adhere to the vital principles of an organization. They must either go with the reformers to the point of destruction, or be regarded as traitors to their interests.”

Into the Methodist Protestant Church, at Baltimore, Pittsburg, and Cincinnati, and several other places, went many of the best and wealthiest laymen of the old Church; and not a few ministers (mostly local) of ability and high character cast their lot with them—Asa Shinn, Nicholas Snethen (“the silver trumpet” of Bishop Asbury), Cornelius Springer, and more. A pure doctrine has been ministered at its altars; and while the denomination has not prospered, not a few bright examples of devout congregations and of personal piety have adorned it. Its ministry and press have never been without strong men, and the members have been generous. Its polity is marked with an extreme jealousy of power, which is lodged nowhere, but “distributed;” and there are guards and balances and checks. A brake on the wheels of a railroad-train is a good thing to keep from going too fast; but a railroad-train, constructed on the principle of a brake, will not go at all. This honor justly belongs to the Methodist Protestant Church: its one good, peculiar principle—lay delegation—has in late years been incorporated into the chief Methodist bodies of Europe and America.

An irrepressible cause of discontent and schism was thus removed by a secession which carried with it ministers and members who were followed by sincere regret. Then the Church had rest for a season, and entered upon an era of unprecedented prosperity. Accessions made up for secessions, and showed an increase in ministers and members every year.*

In 1820 American had agreed with British Methodism on a dividing line, giving up Lower Canada to them and taking Upper Canada; and each, by compact, withdrew from the other's territory. Upper Canada—hitherto divided in its territory between Genesee and New England Conferences—petitioned to be set up as an Annual Conference in 1824; and this was done, making the seventeenth. In 1828 the five delegates of the Canada Conference were in their seats at Pittsburg, representing

* From 1820 to 1824 the increase in membership was 71,642. The membership during the next *quadrennium* increased 42,646. In 1829 there was an increase of 29,305, and in 1830 an increase of 28,410, besides the loss of the Canada Conference. The increase during 1831 was 37,114, and in 1832 it was 35,479, making in the four years from 1828 to 1832—the chief period of secession—an increase in ministers from 1,642 to 2,200, and in members from 418,438 to 548,593, being more than 150,000 in the four years—the largest increase the Church had ever realized in the same period. (Simpson's Hundred Years, etc.)

nine thousand six hundred and seventy-eight members, with valuable Church property. They and other memorialists represented that great inconvenience was experienced on account of their being under a foreign government. Prejudices growing out of this hindered them, and they asked for the connection to be dissolved. The jurisdiction of the General Conference was accordingly withdrawn, and they were authorized to form themselves into a separate Church, and their proportional interest in the Book Concern and Chartered Fund was provided for. A resolution was also adopted that if the Canada Conference should declare itself a separate Church and elect a superintendent, our Bishops should ordain him. In October, 1828, the Conference held its annual session, under the presidency of Bishop Hedding, and formed itself into the Canada Methodist Episcopal Church, adopting the Discipline as its basis. The Bishop congratulated them and gave them his blessing. It is pleasant to record an instance of regular separation after three stormy secessions. A union was effected, in 1833, with the Wesleyan Church of Great Britain. Several ministers and members, dissatisfied with this action, reorganized the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada, and maintained their separate existence until the late general union.

The *Christian Advocate* had been started in New York in 1826, and shortly before that the *Wesleyan Journal*, in Charleston. The two were merged. The General Conference of 1828 elected Nathan Bangs editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*; John Emory was elected Book Agent, and Beverly Waugh assistant.

In 1824 the General Conference instructed the Bishops to appoint a fraternal delegate to the British Conference. They met in Baltimore in 1826 to do this. Bishops McKendree and Soule nominated Dr. William Capers; Bishops George and Hedding objected that he was a slave-holder, and nominated Dr. Wilbur Fisk. Neither side would yield, and the election was postponed. Next year Bishop Roberts was present—the other Bishops were still of the same mind, and as he would not take the responsibility of giving the casting vote, the matter went by default, and was referred back to the General Conference. Dr. William Capers, of South Carolina, was chosen.*

* May 17 the Conference took up "the order of the day, to elect a delegate to the British-Conference." Two ballots were had. On the first, Capers received 75 and Fisk 67; on the second, Capers received 82, and Fisk 72.

He loved home and his Church-work, but wrote to his wife on the day the "undesirable distinction" was conferred: "I could not decline being a candidate, for reasons which you know; and besides the important principle, involving the interests generally of all the Southern preachers, I could not decline because of the unpleasant dilemma in which it would have placed those of the Bishops who had so perseveringly maintained my nomination." Writing again from New York, before taking ship:

I wish you could have heard last night how Brother Waugh, concluding the service after I had preached, prayed for me, and for you, and our dear children also; and how many loud amens rang through the church. I had a blessed day yesterday—Sunday. My mouth was opened, and my heart enlarged, and the congregations seemed to feel pretty generally a correspondent interest in the services. As I said before so let me repeat, we know not what the Divine will may be, but let us lose ourselves in God and we shall infallibly come out on the right and best side. If we fully purpose in our hearts that "whether we live, we live unto the Lord, or whether we die, we die unto the Lord," he will take care—our conduct being consistent—that "we live and die the Lord's."

Dr. Capers was the first fraternal delegate from American Methodism to the British Wesleyans, and none more fit for such an embassy has ever followed. The Conference at City Road presented "their warmest thanks" to him "for the great ability, Christian spirit, and brotherly kindness with which he has discharged the duties of his honorable mission," and to "the Methodist Episcopal Church in America for the appointment of their excellent representative, who had confirmed their feelings of respect and attachment toward their American brethren at large."

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Indian Missions Established—Wyandots, Muskogees, Choctaws, Cherokees, Flat-heads—The Indian Mission Conference—Missions to Negro Slaves—The Beginning and Progress of Plantation Missions: Difficulties of this Work.

The servile progeny of Ham
Seize as the purchase of thy blood;
Let all the heathen know thy name:
From idols to the living God
The wand'ring Indian tribes convert,
And shine in every pagan heart.

(Charles Wesley.)

JOHN and Charles Wesley came to America to convert the Indians, but died without the sight. None have been so successful as Wesleyans in converting "the wandering tribes."

In 1815, while Marcus Lindsey was preaching in Marietta, Ohio, John Stewart passed by—the negro who went out as the first missionary among the Wyandot Indians. Stewart, in one of his drunken fits, had started to the river to drown himself. On his way he had to pass by the place where Lindsey was holding meeting, and being attracted by the sound, he stood at the door, where he could hear all that was said. The preacher was describing the lost sinner's condition, exposed to death and hell; and then he presented the offer of mercy—Jesus died for all, and the worst of sinners might find pardon. The Spirit, by his word, arrested Stewart there, and turned his feet from the way of death to the path of life. He was much engaged in reading the Bible and in prayer for weeks. Long fasting and vigils were broken by a vision. Whether awake or asleep he could not say, but he professed to have heard a voice saying, "You must go in a north-westerly direction to the Indian Nation, and tell the savage tribes of Christ your Saviour."* On the Upper Sandusky he found, among the wigwams of the Wyandots, a negro, Jonathan Pointer, who had been captured on the Kanawha when a boy, and who acted as his interpreter. His first congregation consisted of an old Indian, "Big Tree," and an aged Indian woman.

* Finley's Sketches of Western Methodism.

Mary. Stewart could sing well, and with Pointer's help he made his message understood. He refused "fire-water," was given to prayer and preaching, and soon had a dominant influence over the clan. His first congregation was converted, and his converts multiplied. The matter was noised abroad. In 1819 the Ohio Conference sent James Montgomery to help him, both being under the presiding eldership of James B. Finley. Finley, a North Carolinian, had early gone to the North-west, and was long a leading character there. He nursed the Indian Mission wisely for years, and earned, by his looks and labors, the *sobriquet* of "Chief." A school was established, and a heroic woman, Harriet Stubbs, sister-in-law of Judge McLean, went to their aid as teacher of Indian girls. "She possessed," says Finley, "more courage and fortitude than any one of her age and sex that I have been acquainted with. In a short time the intrepid female missionary was the idol of the whole nation. They looked upon her as an angel messenger sent from the spirit land to teach them the way to heaven. They called her the 'pretty redbird.'"

Finley, Elliott, Henkle, and other preachers, labored among the scattered tribes. Stewart died in the faith in 1823. In 1820 converted Wyandots bore the news of their evangelization to a kindred tribe—the Ojibways—in Canada. Two Indian preachers went thither, and twelve years later there were ten aboriginal missionary stations in Upper Canada, with nearly 2,000 adult Indian members, and 400 youths were receiving instruction in eleven schools; and the names of John Sunday, Peter Jones, and other native evangelists were known at home and abroad.*

Bishops McKendree and Soule visited these missions in 1824. Finley met them at Columbus and conducted them to the scene. They were delighted at the change which had resulted from the labors of the missionaries among the Wyandots, both in their temporal and spiritual condition. Their religion had consisted of paganism and some of the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. They had kept up their feasts, songs, and dances; and so strong was their belief in witchcraft that numbers had been put to death as witches. Drunkenness, poverty, and misery abounded. But now a large majority had renounced their old faith and practices. Many had joined the Church, and were

* Histories of Bangs, Finley, and Strickland.

attentive to the means of grace; among them five leading chiefs—Big Tree, Between-the-Logs, Menoncue, Hicks, and Peacock. Big Tree was the first convert of his tribe; Between-the-Logs became a powerful preacher, but Menoncue excelled him in the peculiar aboriginal eloquence:

The habits of Christian social and domestic life prevailed. At the manual labor mission-school a fine farm was in operation, supplying abundantly the wants of the mission family and school with corn, wheat, oats, rye, flax, and a variety and profusion of vegetables. The neighboring Indians were imitating this model establishment. On the Sabbath both of the Bishops preached to a large assembly, through the interpreter. By appointment they met a number of the leaders of the nation. Bishop McKendree, after addressing them, invited them to inform him of their views in relation to the mission and the general interests of the nation. Menoncue, Punch, Gray Eyes, Peacock, Between-the-Logs, Driver, Washington, and Big Tree, replied. They gratefully adverted to the change in the creed, manners, morals, and condition, which had resulted from the mission, and earnestly asked that it might be continued. Bishop McKendree continued visiting from house to house, attended by an interpreter, explaining experimental religion and enforcing its practical precepts. On the 14th of August they left, impressed and delighted with the visit. Bishop Soule, who had never before been among the Indians, was especially surprised and pleased; and both of them, through the remainder of their lives, often adverted to the scene, which seemed to linger in their memories like the echo of an enchanting song.*

The next enterprise was a mission to the Creek Indians, occupying at that time lands in Georgia and Alabama, east and west of the Chattahooche River. In 1821 Dr. Capers was selected by Bishop McKendree to set on foot this mission. He was then making the first successful effort to replant Methodism in Savannah. He set out on horseback on an extensive tour of appointments, for the purpose of awakening public attention to the moral and religious improvement of this tribe of Indians, who occupied the western frontier of the Conference. Contributions were solicited for the purpose of erecting mission premises and establishing a school; and the project, in the hands of so eloquent an advocate, met with general favor. He visited the Creek Agency and had an interview with the celebrated half-breed chief McIntosh, who, according to stately etiquette, though he understood English, would communicate with Dr. Capers only through an interpreter.

Asbury Manual Labor School was located at Fort Mitchell, near the present city of Columbus, and Dr. Capers, that he

* Paine's Life and Times of McKendree.

might the better superintend it, was for 1823–24 stationed in Milledgeville. There were many adversaries, but the school continued for several years. Isaac Smith, whom we met last on Edisto, founding the Church there, consented, in his sixty-first year, to teach the Indians also. In his house Capers made his first public prayer, and he and two others entertained the South Carolina Conference at its first meeting in Camden. He won the affections of the red men, and in 1829 there were reported seventy-one members at the Asbury Station, and the school consisted of fifty scholars. In 1830 the mission was discontinued. The labor was not lost, since many of the Indians, after their removal beyond the Mississippi River, were gathered into the fold of Christ, and traced their religious impressions to Father Smith and his associates and successors, Andrew Hammill, Daniel G. McDaniel, Matthew Raiford, and Whitman C. Hill.*

The evangelization of the Choctaws and Chickasaws—kindred and adjoining tribes—was like a nation being born in a day. Rev. Alexander Talley† appears as missionary to Pensacola and Mobile as early as 1822. Subsequently he presided over the Louisiana District. In 1827 he was appointed missionary to the Indians in North Mississippi, and with tent and interpreter he set himself to the work. The interpreter (an Indian) shrunk from appearing before large crowds, and this confined the missionary to mere groups. He pitched his tent among small settlements, invited them to come and hear the “good talk,” and he taught the groups that gathered, and passed on. The teaching was direct—the fall of man, sin, redemption in Christ, repentance and love and obedience. He called for a turning to the Lord instantly. Before he got round in detail the chief, Leflore, sent for him, courteously entreated him, and made the teacher welcome to head-quarters. Years before, a French trader, Leflore, had settled on the Natchez trace, married an Indian, grown wealthy, and had a numerous progeny of sons and daughters. Greenwood Leflore, the oldest son, had been educated among the whites, was

* Of the number is Samuel Checote, elected Chief of the Creek Nation in their present home (Indian Territory), in 1867, for four years, and twice reelected. He is the leading member of the Indian Mission Conference, and has often served as presiding elder. Checote was at Father Smith's school when a youth, and remembers him, though now sixty-six years old.

† One of three preacher-brothers—Nicholas and John W. being the other two.

principal chief of the nation, and Talley's interpreter upon occasions; and a more fluent and eloquent one, according to accounts, missionary never had. One of the first reform movements was to suppress the whisky traffic. The ordinance passed in council was duly guarded by penalty: "The offender was to be struck a hard lick on the head with a stick, and his whisky poured out on the ground." A self-willed brave defied the law—Offa-homa (Red-dog)—and met the penalty; for they were in earnest. A camp-meeting was held, and Captain Offa-homa, with a deep scar unhealed on his scalp, was among the first to appear. The Leflore family, the most intelligent and influential in the nation, and the common people, were brought under religious influence, and a spiritual power pervaded the tribe. The venerable Isaac Smith came up from the Muskogee School—Asbury—and his word and manner, emphasized by his gray hairs, made an uncommon impression. As he uttered paragraphs of Bible truth enough to save a world, Leflore, standing by his side, would interpret to the multitude seated and standing around. The interpreter enlarged on his text and wept; the people wept. A young preacher was present; in old age he describes the scene. He "had just read the first volume of Watson's Institutes, and thought the argument in favor of the divine origin of Christianity fine; but as he sat there among those untutored men and women, melted and weeping profusely under the word as the Holy Spirit applied it, he felt that the strongest argument for the gospel's divinity was before him. His own heart was strangely warmed, and he was more than ever determined thereafter to preach nothing but the pure, unadorned gospel of Jesus Christ, since that alone is the power of God unto salvation."

Alexander Talley took a delegation of Indian converts to the Annual Conference which met at Tuscaloosa in 1828. After his report was read the Conference requested that one of the Indians might give an account of the work of grace and the prospects of the nation. Captain Washington responded through the interpreter. The Conference was powerfully moved. Bishop Soule rose from the chair, shook the hand of the chief, and welcomed him and his people to the church, and exclaimed, "Brethren, the Choctaw Nation is ours! No—I mistake; the Choctaw Nation is Jesus Christ's!"*

* J. G. Jones's MS. History. The historian was present.

Revs. R. D. Smith and Moses Perry were sent to Talley's help. The Indian work spread and prevailed, and was divided into circuits. The "falling exercise" was as common among these Indians as it had been in the Kentucky and Tennessee revival of 1800. Before the removal of the tribes to the West—1830-32—over three thousand Choctaw and Chickasaw members were added to the Church. Moses Perry married into the tribe, and accompanied them to their reservation beyond the Mississippi.

"The work of the Spirit," says our historian and witness "was deep. We have witnessed among no people more marked awakenings, conversions, and subsequent developments of Christian experience than we have found among the Choctaws."

In 1822 the Rev. Richard Neely, of the Tennessee Conference, commenced to preach to the Cherokees in North Alabama, a nation more advanced than the Creeks. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had conducted missionary operations among them since 1817. Under Neely's preaching a class of thirty-three members was formed. At the following session of the Conference the Rev. A. J. Crawford was appointed missionary to the Cherokees and, with the approval of the chiefs in that part of the nation, opened a school which met with favor. Revivals of religion followed, and at the Conference of 1823 one hundred and eight members were reported. The work continued to grow, notwithstanding the political disturbances to which the tribe was subjected, until in 1830 there were eight hundred and fifty-five members of the Church, and five schools with about one hundred pupils. John Fletcher Boot and Turtle Fields and Blackbird* were noted native preachers, though after the removal West a number were raised up whose influence was great—Carey, Standing-man, and others.

In 1832-33 the Conference, being met in St. Louis, received a remarkable call from the Flat Head Indians of Oregon. By some means they had heard that the white men had a book which told about the Great Spirit and another world. They sent a delegation across the Rocky Mountains to find the book and to ask for

* The Cherokee Mission stands thus in the Minutes of the Tennessee Conference for 1827: William McMahon, Superintendent of Indian Mission; Will's Valley, Greenberry Garrett; Oostahnahla, Turtle Fields; Echota, James J. Trott; Oothkellogee, Greenville T. Henderson; Creek Path, John B. McFerrin; Chattooga, Allen F. Scruggs; Salakowa, Dickson C. McLeod.

a teacher. They made known their wants; the intelligence was published throughout the country, and three young men of New England—Jason and Daniel Lee, and Cyrus Shepherd, volunteered for this work. They arrived at Fort Vancouver in September, 1834, and commenced their labors. But the principal result has been the laying a foundation for the white churches on the Upper Pacific Coast. The Indian tribes there are feeble and scattered, and melting away rapidly.

That fertile country lying south of Missouri, west of Arkansas, and north of Texas, is called the Indian Territory. To it the Government has removed tribe after tribe, as their title to lands in the East has been extinguished. Each tribe has its appointed metes and bounds; and to those mentioned already may be added the remnants of the Senecas, Modocs, Kickapoos, and Shawnees. Methodist missionaries like Cumming and Harrell followed them from the old home, where evangelization commenced, to the new home where in time an Annual Conference was organized. In 1882 there were four districts—Cherokee, Muskogee or Creek, Chickasaw, and Choctaw—and fifty appointments supplied by preachers, many of them Indians. There were 5,026 Indian members, and 112 local preachers. Exclusive of these, 1,100 white people and 30 negroes were numbered in the membership of the Indian Conference.* Their numerous schools—male and female—are supported in part by the Government annuities and in part by the Missionary Society.

*The Minutes for 1882 contain obituaries of three traveling preachers: Isaac Saunders "was born in the old home of the Cherokees—east of the Mississippi." For thirty-two years he was an itinerant preacher among his people in the Indian Territory. "Twenty-nine years," says the official memoir, adopted by the Conference and printed in the General Minutes, "he was on the effective list. The Journal does not show a single complaint against him. His faith in Christ was unbroken to the last." Moses Mitchell was a full-blooded Seminole, in the seventh year of his ministry. "He was converted," says the memoir, "when young, and triumphed when passing through the sufferings of death." James McHenry, one of the patriarchs of the body, a Creek, was born on Flint River, and was sixty-five years old when he died. Like other eminent preachers, he presided over his native councils as well as circuits in the nation. These items are furnished by his comrade, Checote: "I first saw him in 1828–29, at the Methodist boarding-school near Fort Mitchell, in Alabama. He and I were ordained elders in the year 1859, at the Annual Conference held at the Old Creek Agency, over which Bishop Paine presided. He was four years president of the Senate, and was judge of Coweta District at his death. He died in the Lord."

As a general rule negro slaves received the gospel by Methodism, from the same preachers and in the same churches with their masters—the galleries, or a portion of the body of the house, being assigned to them. If a separate building was provided, the negro congregation was an appendage to the white, the pastor usually preaching once on Sunday for them, holding separate official meetings with their leaders, exhorters, and preachers, and administering discipline, and making return of members for the Annual Minutes. But the condition of the slave population segregated on the rice and sugar and cotton plantations appealed for help. The regular ministry did not reach the river deltas of the low country—a malarial region in which few white people are found. For twenty years before, missionaries to the slave population had been going through the regions most accessible; but in 1829 a system of plantation service and instruction was inaugurated by the South Carolina Conference.

On the east side of the modest marble obelisk placed over the grave of William Capers is this inscription: “The Founder of Missions to the Slaves.” In the autumn after his return from England, he was waited on by a wealthy planter on Santee, to learn if a Methodist exhorter could be recommended to him suitable for an overseer. He was aware of Dr. Capers’s interest in the religious welfare of the colored people, and that the prejudices and mistrusts which certain unfortunate ecclesiastical utterances had created against the Methodists could not attach to him who, besides other guarantees of character, was himself a slave-holder; and the happy results which had followed the pious endeavors of a Methodist overseer on the plantation of one of his Georgia friends had directed this planter’s attention to the subject. Dr. Capers doubted whether he could serve him in that particular way, but assured him that if he would allow him to make application to the Bishop and Missionary Board at the approaching session of the Conference, a minister, for whose character he could vouch fully, should be sent to his plantation as a missionary, whose time and efforts should be devoted exclusively to the religious instruction and spiritual welfare of his colored people. To this proposal cordial assent was given. Soon after two others, wealthy planters of Pon Pon and of Combahee, united in a similar request.

Dr. Capers, in addition to his duties as presiding elder of

Charleston District, accepted the difficult and delicate position of superintendent of the first negro missions established. With most judicious care were the two men chosen who were to enter this opening door and, by the results achieved, to keep it open. The following account of the enterprise is from one who was a member of the Conference and watched it through all its stages:

The first missionaries were the Rev. John Honour, and the Rev. John H. Massey. As if to try the faith of the Church, and test its power of self-sacrifice, John Honour, although a native of the low countries, took the bilious fever, through exposure in the swamps of his field of labor, and in September ended his mortal life and glorious work together, and entered into his rest. The operations of the first year gathered four hundred and seventeen Church-members. Foot-hold was gained. The experiment, eyed with distrust by most of the planters, denounced by many as a hurtful innovation upon the established order of things, favored by very few, was commenced. The noble-hearted gentlemen who went forward in the movement were in advance of their time, and could not but feel that they had assumed a heavy responsibility in indorsing for the beneficial results of such an undertaking. Of course they watched the developments of the affair with no small solicitude. As far as it went the first year it was perfectly satisfactory. The second year the membership on these missions more than doubled itself. Incredibly small, however, was the treasure-chest of the Missionary Society. The sum of two hundred and sixty-one dollars was reported to the Annual Conference as the aggregate of the collections for the year 1830. The following year another of the ministers of the Conference was added to the small but brave forlorn-hope. The oral instruction of the little negroes, by Catechism, was commenced; two hundred and fifty of these were placed under the care of the missionaries, and nine hundred and seventy-two Church-members were reported. At the ensuing session of the Conference, held at Darlington early in 1832, a decided and memorable impulse was given to the missionary spirit, particularly among the preachers, by a speech delivered at the anniversary of the Missionary Society, by the Rev. (now Bishop) James O. Andrew. After the usual preparatory exercises, he was introduced to the meeting, and read the following resolution: "That, while we consider false views of religion as being every way mischievous, and judge from the past that much evil has resulted from that cause among the slave population of this country, we are fully persuaded that it is not only safe, but highly expedient to society at large, to furnish the slaves as fully as possible with the means of true scriptural instruction and the worship of God." We have heard many good and clever speeches in our time, a few withal that deserved to be called great, but foremost in our recollection stands the remarkable speech made by Bishop Andrew on that occasion. He drew a picture of the irreligious, neglected plantation negro, Claude-like in the depth of its tone and color. He pointed out his degradation, rendered but the deeper and darker from the fitful and transient flashings up of desires which felt after God—scintillations of the immortal, blood-bought spirit within him, which ever and again gleamed amidst the darkness of his untutored mind. He pointed out the adaptation of the gospel to the extremest cases. Its recovering power and provisions were adequate to the

task of saving from sin and hell all men of all conditions of life, in all stages of civilization. He pointed to the converted negro, the noblest prize of the gospel, the most unanswerable proof of its efficiency. There he was, mingling his morning song with the matin chorus of the birds, sending up his orisons to God under the light of the evening-star, contented with his lot, cheerful in his labors, submissive for conscience' sake to plantation discipline, happy in life, hopeful in death, and from his lowly cabin carried at last by the angels to Abraham's bosom. Who could resist such an appeal, in which argument was fused in fervid eloquence? The speech carried by storm the whole assembly.

At the close of 1832 there were reported as members of the mission-family thirteen hundred and ninety-five souls, and four hundred and ninety children were regularly catechised. The experiment had been going on for four years. The theory of religious instruction for the blacks had been put to practical tests, had been watched in its matter-of-fact tendencies, had borne some fruit, and the earliest sheaves gave distinct promise of the coming harvest. An influential gentleman, who had witnessed on a large plantation of his own the successful results of religious instruction communicated through the means of the missionary organization, sent a complimentary letter to the Missionary Board, with a solicitation in behalf of a number of his friends in Beaufort that the missionaries should be sent to them. A respectable meeting of planters was held in Saint Luke's Parish on the subject of the religious instruction of the blacks, and the missionary system was advocated and adopted. The time for enlargement was come. It was found that the preaching of the gospel, with the characteristic simplicity and earnestness of the Methodist ministry, not only was understood by the negroes, and took well with them, but that, combined with the regular discipline of the Church, it produced a distinct and observable improvement in their moral character and habits, making them sober, honest, industrious, and contented. These were phases of character which overseers and proprietors, however unskilled in divinity and indifferent to points of theological subtlety and dispute, could judge of as well as a college of cardinals or a synod of Churchmen. And prejudice crumbled away piecemeal. Doubt and distrust brightened into approval. Confidence in the system took the place of opposition, and the friends of missions gave God praise and took courage as the door of access to these thousands of Africa's children was opened wider and wider.*

The zeal of South Carolina provoked many, and the work so auspiciously begun was taken up by other Conferences and carried forward with success. In other States the planters became earnest friends of the missions to the slaves, and contributed largely to their support. At the before-mentioned anniversary of the Missionary Society, January, 1832, the board of managers, submitting their report, say:

The mission on the Santee numbers upward of three hundred members of the Church in regular and good standing. A considerable number of the slaves have been baptized during the past year. There is an evident improvement among the

* Rev. (afterward Bishop) W. M. Wightman, D.D., in *Southern Quarterly Review*.

negroes, both as regards the number who attend the means of grace and the solemn attention given to the word preached.

The negroes served on the Savannah River Mission [by the Rev. James Dannelly] being found convenient to meeting-houses, it has been judged expedient to throw that mission into the regular work of the circuit.

The mission on Combahee, Pon Pon, and Wappahoola, has had an increase the last year of two hundred and thirty members, making the aggregate number of members six hundred and seventy. Upward of one hundred little negroes receive catechetical instruction, one hundred and twenty-eight have been baptized, and the missionary expresses his conviction that the religious experience of the blacks is deeper, and their deportment more becoming, every year.

Guided by experience and cheered by success, we come to bind ourselves afresh to this holy work, and to renew the solemn obligations which the enterprise of negro instruction and salvation imposes on us. Into this long-neglected field of danger, reproach, and toil we again go forth, bearing the precious seed of salvation. And to the protection and blessing of the God of missions our cause is confidently and devoutly commended.

In 1833 two additional mission stations were established. In 1834 they numbered six, in 1835 eight, in 1836 nine, in 1837 ten.

In the tenth year of its operations the missionary ground of the Society embraced two hundred and thirty-four plantations, served by seventeen missionaries, under the general supervision of three superintendents. These missionaries preached at ninety-seven appointments, and had under their regular pastoral charge 5,556 Church-members, to whom they preached and administered the sacraments and discipline of the Church. And they had under catechetical instruction 2,525 negro children.*

These results are separate from the negro membership distributed in smaller numbers through the upper country, and more accessible by the regular pastors. The Kentucky Conference, which reported in 1846 but one mission to the colored people, numbered among its regular communicants 9,479 of this class; and the Holston Conference made a report of no mission, but reckoned a colored membership of 4,133. The rule laid down by the South Carolina Board (auxiliary to the parent Society), and obtaining elsewhere, is expressed in one of their early reports:

That, as a general rule for our circuits and stations, we deem it best to include the colored people in the same pastoral charge with the whites, and to preach to both classes in one congregation, as our practice has been. The gospel is the same for all men, and to enjoy its privileges in common promotes good-will.

That at all preaching-places where galleries or other suitable sittings have not

*Shipp's History of Methodism in South Carolina (pages 450-465), in which reports are published in full. Each Annual Conference had an auxiliary Missionary Society.

been provided for the colored people, or where the galleries or other sittings are insufficient, we consider it the duty of our brethren and friends to provide the necessary accommodation, that none may make such a neglect a plea for absenting themselves from public worship.

Colored local preachers were used and were useful in promoting the religious welfare of their race. Rev. William Capers always had a corps of them about him in excellent training, wherever he was stationed. In Fayetteville, North Carolina, he found a remarkable one:

I have known, and loved, and honored not a few negroes in my life who were probably as pure of heart as Evans, or anybody else. Such were my old friends Castile Selby and John Boquet, of Charleston; Will Campbell and Harry Myrick, of Wilmington; York Cohen, of Savannah; and others I might name. These I might call remarkable for their goodness. But I use the word in a broader sense for Henry Evans, who was confessedly the best preacher of his time in that quarter, and who was so remarkable as to have become the greatest curiosity of the town, insomuch that distinguished visitors hardly felt that they might pass a Sunday in Fayetteville without hearing him preach. Evans was from Virginia—a shoe-maker.*

By this agency much evangelizing was done in Charleston, and not only in the city where the black membership was to the white as five to one, but on the nearest plantations. Dr. Capers says: "We had belonging to the Church in Charleston (1811), as if raised up for the exigencies of the time, some extraordinary colored men. I have mentioned Castile Selby; there were also Amos Baxter, Tom Smith, Peter Simpson, Smart Simpson, Harry Bull, Richard Holloway, Aleck Harlston, and others, men of intelligence and piety, who read the Scriptures and understood them, and were zealous for religion among the negroes."†

In November, 1854, a few months before the death of the founder of missions to the slaves, the Conference Missionary Board made a report which speaks of the opening prospect, and alludes to what has been done:

Twenty-six years ago the South Carolina Conference began a system of regular ecclesiastical operations among the plantation negroes of the low country, by establishing two missions. At present there are twenty-six missionary stations, on which are employed thirty-two ministers, who are supported by the Society. The number of Church-members is 11,546, including 1,175 whites. The missionary revenue has risen from \$300 to \$25,000. These are the material results, so far as statistics are concerned. They call for devout acknowledgments to God, who has

* Autobiography of William Capers; and Biography by Dr. Wightman. † Ibid.

given us abundant favor in the sight of the community in carrying on a line of operations confessedly difficult and delicate.

The testimony of masters and missionaries goes to show that a wholesome effect has been produced upon the character of the negro population generally. A change for the better is visible everywhere, when the present generation is contrasted with the past; and in how many cases the gospel has proved the power of God to salvation, and presented before the throne the spirits of these children of Ham redeemed and washed by "the blood of sprinkling," and fitted for an abode in heaven, the revelations of the last day will disclose.

The singing was wonderful, and the catechetical instruction of youth and children, and of the congregations, was helped by Capers's Catechisms (No. 1 and No. 2), prepared expressly for this purpose, though they obtained a wider circulation. There was no romance here; it was in the highest degree a work of faith, demanding the patience of hope and the labor of love; and some of the best preachers of Southern Methodism spent their best days at it, as Charles Wilson, W. C. Kirkland, G. W. Moore, J. R. Coburn, R. J. Boyd, Bunch, Ledbetter, Turpin, and Rush.

It grew. On the sugar and rice fields lying upon the Gulf of Mexico, and in the vast cotton plantations of the Mississippi Delta and its lower tributaries, this missionary system was the light and life of hundreds of thousands of "the servile progeny of Ham." Right-minded masters welcomed the missionaries, thankfully accepting such aid in discharging their own obligations to their dependents. Many built chapels, and not only countenanced them by their personal attendance during winter residence and transient visits, but contributed liberally to the funds of the Society; others tolerated preaching, at the expense of the Society; and yet others were obnoxious to the woe of them who neither enter the kingdom of heaven themselves nor suffer others to enter in. Agreeable surprises sometimes awaited a missionary on entering dark places of this sort which by debt, or death, or other influence, had been providentially opened--a society, rudely organized, was there before him, with its stated times of worship, its rules, and its members. By purchase or partition of estates, or by immigration, a religious negro or family of negroes was thrown, like leaven, into an ignorant mass of his fellow-beings, and became a source of instruction and a center of life which took form and grew, even under unpropitious surroundings. One missionary to such a sugar plantation in Louisiana found over thirty "members:" he had these to begin with.

Methodism has ventured every thing upon the evangelical maxim, "The Lord will take care of the Church that takes care of his poor." It suffered a drain on its resources when sending the gospel to the wandering Indian tribes and to the servile progeny of Ham; and in certain localities a social discount was endured. One of the best witnesses (Dr. Capers, so late as 1854) who bestowed much labor on a congregation where the black element preponderated and, in a certain sense, had to be carried by the white, has left this testimony:

Under all the obloquy cast upon them the Methodists were, nevertheless, much esteemed. Their preaching might be attended with great propriety, for almost everybody did so, but who might join them? No, it was vastly more respectable to join some other Church, and still attend the preaching of the Methodists, which was thought to answer all purposes. And this has been the case long since the year I am speaking of. The persons of that year whom I can call to mind have gone to their account; and yet I hesitate not to say that if all the individuals who have joined other Churches in that city since 1811, professing to have been awakened under the Methodist ministry, had joined the Church where God met them, the Methodist Church in Charleston might have ranked in worldly respects with the very first, before this day.

The rich claim whatever they want, even a fashionable church and a palatable gospel; they can pay for it! But "the Spirit of the Lord God" must be upon a man—he must be "anointed"—who preaches the gospel to the poor. In 1845 Southern Methodism had gathered into Church-membership one hundred and twenty-four thousand of the slave population; in the fifteen years following, that number had increased to two hundred and seven thousand, exclusive of catechumens.

Frequent references are made in the reports of laborers in this field to the "delicacy" as well the difficulty of their work. Their access to the slave population at one end of the Union was constantly liable to be restricted or cut off on account of intemperate speech or action at the other end, and that too by people professing to be friends of the slave, but far removed from the scene, and bearing no part in the perils, reproaches, and sacrifices of those who were seeking his spiritual welfare.

CHAPTER XL.

James O. Andrew—John Emory—Foreign Missions Inaugurated—Iberia—Brazil—Coxe—Pitts—Education—Colleges: Randolph Macon; La Grange; Dickinson; Wilbraham; Madison; Alleghany—J. P. Durbin—Thomas A. Morris—Death of McKendree: Taking Leave of his Brethren.

THE General Conference of 1832 met in the city of Philadelphia. One disturbing element having withdrawn from the Church, and the other being weak or quiet, the session was remarkably harmonious. James O. Andrew, of the Georgia, and John Emory, of the Baltimore Conference, were elected Bishops.*

James Osgood Andrew was the son of John Andrew, the first native Georgian who had joined the traveling ministry. James was somewhat reluctantly licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference. Preachers were needed, and the Annual Conference, on the indorsement of his presiding elder, Lovick Pierce, who had brought up his recommendation from the Broad River Circuit, received him on trial (1812) and he was sent as second man on the Saltkahatchee Circuit, in Barnwell District, South Carolina. A friend mounted him on a pony, and he set out from his humble Georgia home for the east side of Savannah River. His opportunities for education had been limited to the "old-field school." He had never seen the world, or been a day's journey from home, but he had been converted, he had strong common sense, and he felt moved by the Holy Spirit to preach. The itinerancy, with the study and prayer and work that are in it, developed him. From circuit to circuit he went in Georgia and the two Carolinas, under judicious presiding elders, then to Charleston, Wilmington, Columbia, and Augusta. From the last station he went up to General Conference where, at thirty-eight years of age, he began to serve the Church on a wider scale. William McKendree was going out as James O. Andrew went into the office. After his election he asked the senior for the guiding rule which had made his own administration so successful. He gave him this: "James, do not seek responsibility, but never shun a responsibility that properly belongs to you; for in doing so you assume the gravest of all responsibilities."

* They were elected on the first ballot—the former by a vote of 140, the latter by 135, out of 223 votes cast.

Mary Cosby, his mother, was a woman of rare soul-refinement and power; and among the daughters of a Scotch merchant in Charleston he found a good wife—Amelia McFarland—who by her needle and school-keeping eked out the income of the parsonage, and encouraged her husband to continue in the ranks. He became a man of first-rate ability in the pulpit, wise in counsel, and a rich contributor to the periodical press. It was his invidious and peculiar lot to be the center of a historic strife, in the midst of which his self-poise never failed, and the gentleness and strength of his character were strikingly displayed.

Bishop Emory never met another General Conference. Early one December morning in 1835, he left his home, which was near the city, for Baltimore. A few hours after, having been thrown from his carriage, he was found dying on the road. A small man, never weighing over one hundred and twenty pounds, he was a giant in mental and moral stature, and though he died young, he lived long enough to impress himself on Methodism.

Like a ship keeping in sight of shore and cautiously coasting, the Missionary Society—guided by Dr. Bangs, who without charge acted as secretary—had confined its work to the Indian tribes and destitute settlements. The receipts of the first year were \$823.04, and in thirteen years they crawled up to \$17,097.05. The year following, under the *stimulus* of a new mission enterprise to the Oregon Indians, they suddenly rose to twice this figure. It was time to venture out, and the Society proposed, with the sanction of the General Conference, to plant its standard on the coast of Africa, and send agents to Mexico and South America to ascertain the feasibility of missions in those countries.

Mellville B. Coxe, a native of Maine, thirty-two years old, and stationed in Raleigh, North Carolina, was a reserve delegate to this General Conference. He volunteered to go as a missionary to Liberia, on the western coast of Africa, and was accepted. In mind and heart he seemed admirably adapted to this enterprise, while some thought his constitution too frail for it. Great admiration and much sympathy were excited in his behalf. To Bishop McKendree he said on receiving the appointment: "At present I am in peace. Death looks pleasant to me, life looks pleasant to me, labor and sufferings look pleasant to me, and last, though not least, Liberia looks pleasant to me. I see, or think I see, resting on Africa, the light and cloud of heaven."

March, 1833, he arrived in Liberia. He found many members, class-leaders, and preachers, whom the Colonization Society had carried out, and organized them into a branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He planned three missions, and an academy at Monrovia. But in less than five months from the time of his arrival he died, prescribing as his epitaph, "Let a thousand fall before Africa be given up." Twenty-five white missionaries died of the climate, or fled from it with ruined health, in seventeen years. Only four colored preachers died in the same time.

In 1835 Bishop Andrew appointed the Rev. Fountain E. Pitts, of the Tennessee Conference, on a missionary exploration to Brazil and South America. Sailing from Baltimore in June, he reached Rio Janeiro in August of that year. His reception, by foreigners and natives, was encouraging, and he commenced his ministerial labors in some half dozen private houses in that great city—the first Methodist preacher that ever preached the kingdom of God in that division of the New World. He formed a Methodist Society, and promised to send them a pastor as early as possible. Thence he sailed to Montevideo, at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata. Here he preached for some weeks and formed a Society. On board of a steamer he ascended the La Plata, to the city of Buenos Ayres, the special field of his destination. After an absence of twelve months he reached home. In consequence of his reports, efforts were made in Brazil. Rev. Justin Spaulding was sent to Rio Janeiro, but the effort was not successful; the land was not yet freed from Romish intolerance. Forty years afterward Methodism got a foothold in the capital and interior of that empire. The occupation of Buenos Ayres has been continued since 1836, when Dr. Dempster went out. For many years the work of the mission was confined chiefly to English-speaking persons, but the work gradually reached the Spanish population, and there is in later days a favorable report, especially in Montevideo, and in the interior of Uruguay.

During this *quadrennium* began a remarkable movement among the German population which has since assumed large proportions. We have seen Henry Boehm* going the rounds

* Henry Boehm died in 1875, over a hundred years old. His father, Martin Boehm, and William Otterbein were the first bishops elected by "The Church of the United Brethren in Christ." The relations of this Church to Methodism have been, from the beginning, very fraternal.

with Bishop Asbury and preaching to a thrifty, intelligent, and increasing element of American citizens in their own language. At one place in the West he says:

On Thursday we fired three guns in quick succession. Bishop Asbury preached first, then Daniel Hitt, without any intermission, and as soon as he sat down I preached in German. There was a good number of Germans present (many of them Lutherans) who were permitted to sit near the stand and hear in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. They were delighted. They had supposed the difference in the effect of Methodist preaching from that of their own ministers was in the language. They thought the English expressed the gospel better. But when the power of God came upon the people, and tears flowed down many cheeks under German preaching, they were convinced the difference was not in the language, but in the manner of communication; the one formal, the other spiritual.

About 1835 appeared in Ohio a young German scholar, of thorough but rationalistic education, who had been reclaimed by Methodism to the faith of the Reformation—William Nast. He labored for some time among his countrymen in Cincinnati, under the direction and by the aid of the Missionary Society; and in the next annual report of the Society the “German Mission” and the name of its founder were first declared to the Church. German Methodism rapidly extended in the North-west, and to New Orleans and Texas in the South-west, and German Methodist churches, circuits, districts, were organized.

The connection between Methodism and the great Reformer’s countrymen is interesting. It was while John Wesley listened to the reading of Luther’s expository writings that he was converted. Before that he was awakened and put on the right path by Böhler, in London, and Spangenburg, in Savannah. Asbury insisted on having Otterbein join in his episcopal consecration. And among the Germans in Europe and America are found some of the best exemplars of primitive Wesleyanism.

The delegated body was becoming too large; the ratio of representation must be reduced, and the Annual Conferences had been requested by the General Conference of 1824 so to change the second Restrictive Rule as to allow a representation of not less than one for every twenty-one, instead of one for every seven. According to the constitution it required the consent of every Annual Conference to enact such a measure, and it was lost. A more general measure was brought forward subsequently. The conventional body of 1808 was so tenacious of the restrictions

placed upon the delegated body which was to succeed it, it enacted that they should be altered only by a majority of two-thirds of the General Conference, on the joint recommendation of *all* the Annual Conferences. This made a change very difficult; the smallest Conference, by one vote, could defeat the whole Connection in securing any object. After various efforts the Annual Conferences consented not only to alter the ratio of delegation, but gave their consent that all the restrictions, except the first, shall be subject to alteration upon the recommendation of two-thirds of the General Conference, when three-fourths of all the members of the several Annual Conferences who shall be present and vote concur therein. Thus has the constitution stood since 1832. The first restriction, which guards doctrines, remains as it was originally; so that change, under it, with the present number of Conferences, is barely not impossible.

About this time there was an enlargement of facilities for higher education under the influence and auspices of the Church. Randolph Macon College, at Boydton, Virginia—Dr. Olin, president; and La Grange College, La Grange, Alabama—Dr. Paine, president, were opened under the patronage of the Southern and South-western Conferences. The property of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was proffered to the Baltimore and Philadelphia Conferences on certain conditions, which they accepted; and this institution, begun in 1783, passed under the patronage of Methodism. Dr. Durbin was president.

In 1830 Bishop McKendree made a donation of valuable lands to Lebanon Seminary, twenty-five miles east of St. Louis, an institution founded by the Illinois Conference, of which the Rev. E. R. Ames was principal. Its name was changed to McKendree College, and a charter obtained in 1834—the Rev. Peter Ákers, D.D., being its first president.

In 1827 the Pittsburg Conference, desiring to establish a college, received the offer of an academy in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and it was opened under the title of "Madison College." Dr. Bascom was its first president, and Dr. Charles Elliott professor. In 1833 Alleghany College, which had been established at Meadville, was tendered to the Conference and accepted, and the institution at Uniontown was removed to that place.

In 1830 a building in Middletown, Connecticut, owned by a literary institution, was offered to the New England Conference

on condition of its raising \$40,000 for endowment. The offer was accepted, and Dr. Wilbur Fisk, who had charge of Wilbraham Academy, was elected president, and removed to Middletown. Thus the "Wesleyan University" began, under the patronage of the New York and New England Conferences.

This was an educational outfit that began to be felt at once for good upon the Church and country. The direct influence in fostering Christian education was hardly greater than the indirect influence in reforming or holding in check the State colleges and universities, some of which had become godless and corrupting to an alarming extent. The lack of endowment was a sore evil, and these institutions struggled under embarrassments which all did not survive. Tuition fees were unequal to their demands and unsteady, and the Church was slow to realize the conditions of permanent success; but while trustees were perplexed, and agents were exercised, and professors were stinted, educated men were sent forth to teach and to preach, to mold public opinion and promote public improvements; and the return influence was in time to help the most persistent survivors, or to establish others on a better foundation.

At the session of 1832 a large number of petitions were presented asking an amendment of the Discipline on the subject of temperance so as to make the law more stringent, but no decided action was taken in this direction.

The population moving westward, there was a demand for a western periodical, and the General Conference authorized the establishment of the *Western Christian Advocate*, of which Thomas A. Morris was elected editor. John P. Durbin was elected editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*.

In the last year of his effective ministry (about 1818) that man of blessed memory in the West—Benjamin Lakin—received into the Church a couple of lads in Bourbon county, Kentucky, who were destined to long and eminent usefulness. One was apprenticed to a cabinet-maker in the village of Paris, and the other to a printer. John P. Durbin made "cases" from which Hubbard H. Kavanaugh set type; and pieces of furniture—his handiwork—are yet preserved among friends of the family. Both went into the ministry before they were twenty years old. Durbin fell into the Ohio Conference, and his first circuit there took him alone into the north-west corner of the State, "where

the Indians still roved, to look after some one hundred members of the Church who were scattered through the wilderness over a circuit of two hundred miles." In the narrow cabins of the new settlers he made himself acquainted with Wesley's and Fletcher's works; or, when weather permitted, after preaching and the class-meeting were over, he betook himself to the groves for study. Next year his circuit was in Indiana, and there, at the instance and by the help of his colleague, J. Collard, he was inducted into English grammar; after which Dr. Ruter advised him to try Latin and Greek, furnishing him the primers. All this time the young preacher was making his mark in preaching, his cares and studies being drawn that way. There was something in him that held his audience by a strange spell. Stationed the next year in Hamilton, Ohio, about twelve miles from Miami University, he attended the university through the week, pursuing his studies, and returned on Friday to prepare for the pulpit. At first this caused some dissatisfaction among the people; but when they saw his thirst for knowledge, and his fidelity and efficiency during three days of the week, and reflected, perhaps, that while they were losing a small per cent. of his services for one year, he was laying the foundation to increase the value of his services to the whole Church fifty per cent. for the remaining years of his life, they had the good sense to approve his course. The next year he was stationed in Lebanon, and still pushed his studies. His next appointment was in Cincinnati, where he was admitted to the Cincinnati College. Here he finished his collegiate course and was admitted to the degree of A.M. After taking his degree he was appointed Professor of Languages in Augusta College. Traveling eastward to collect funds for the college, he first became known in the pulpits there. A genuine light from the West rose upon them, and the East retained him. In 1831, in his absence, the Senate of the United States elected him chaplain. His sermons in the capitol were memorable. In 1832 he was elected Professor of Natural Sciences in the Wesleyan University, Connecticut, but resigned upon being elected editor of the *Christian Advocate and Journal*. This position he vacated in 1834 to take the presidency of Dickinson College, where he gathered around him a faculty of rare power and learning. By travel abroad he was still more enlarged. Unpromising in appearance — unless looked at closely; addicted

to drawling exordiums and overwhelming perorations; such, in part, was John P Durbin. Those who could not define his power felt and acknowledged it willingly. Great in executive ability as well as in speech, he would surely have been at the head of the cabinet-making business had not the Lord called him to something else. He did not display his full capacity for affairs, however, until as Missionary Secretary he came to the directory of a world-wide enterprise for the salvation of souls.

Thomas A. Morris, who was put at the helm of the Western paper at the same time Durbin took a similar position in the East, was born in Kanawha county, Virginia, in 1796. He says:

July, 1813, while I listened to David Young preaching at a camp-meeting, on the parable of the sower, I was brought to form a solemn purpose to seek earnestly for salvation till I should obtain it. In August I joined a small country class on trial. I had prayed in secret for months, but made little progress till I took this decisive step, and thus drew a separating line from my irreligious associates. The conflict with sin thus renewed continued till some time in November, when I obtained some relief and comfort, and on Christmas-day I received a clear sense of pardon and a full "spirit of adoption." In the meantime I missed none of David Young's quarterly-meetings. At one of them he baptized me in the presence of a multitude, and the same day on which he poured the water on my head the Lord poured plentifully his Spirit into my heart.

Reared in a rural district of a new country, amid agricultural pursuits, I was inured to toils and perils, which have been of service to me in every relation of subsequent life. "By grace I am what I am." An experience of over fifty years confirms my conviction that in Christ alone are pardon, peace, and heaven.

In 1816 he began to preach through Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and Ohio, and was quietly, steadily useful. The firmness of conscious rectitude and the meekness of wisdom were blended in him, and in all the relations which he bore to the Church a healthful influence went out from him. He was given to clear, short sermons abruptly concluded.

Bishop McKendree's last Conference (Lebanon, Tennessee) closed Nov. 14, 1834,* and he preached his last sermon in McKendree Church, Nashville, on Sunday, Nov. 23. In the course of the next month he reached his brother's residence in Sumner county, under a presentiment that his end was near, and in accordance with a long-cherished wish to die at home and be

* In the same county (Wilson, Tennessee), and near the same place (Liberty Hill) where he held his first Conference (in 1808), he held his last; and within a few miles, in the same county, is Bethlehem, where, in 1815, Bishop Asbury held his last Conference.

buried there. His father and brother had removed from Virginia several years before, and resided at Fountain Head, about a day's journey north of Nashville. Bodily infirmities, which had been held at bay by the resistance of a strong will, now rushed upon him, bowed under the weight of seventy-eight years. A favorite sister who, like himself, lived and died unmarried and seemed to live for God and her brother, waited upon him, and watched by his bedside unceasingly. Once awakening from slumber in the night he looked at her and his nieces, sitting by his bed, and said, with a smile: "You are like a lamp—burning while I sleep, to cheer me when I wake."

On Sunday before his death his brother, the doctor, said to him: "Bishop, you are sinking fast; we shall, in all probability, soon be separated." He replied: "Yes, I know it; but all is well." He made a signal that he wished to speak. To his nephew, leaning over to receive his communication, he said: "All is well for time or for eternity. I live by faith in the Son of God." In his most emphatic manner he repeated: "I wish that matter to be perfectly understood—that all is well with me, whether I live or die. For two months I have not had a cloud to darken my sky. I have had uninterrupted confidence in my Saviour's love." He was fond of the phrase, "All is well." To inquiries as to the state of his soul, this was his usual reply. It was, indeed, his last connected expression, although the last word was "Yes," in answer to the question asked him while dying, "Is all well *now*?" He died March 5th, and was buried in the family grave-yard, by the side of his father.*

The reader has taken knowledge of the first native American bishop as providentially suited to the constitutional era of the Church. Though keenly alive to the personal alienations and the conflicts which befell him, he lived to see both its doctrines and polity under the protection of fundamental law. The ready-coined reproach—love of power—moved him not while he met the responsibility of his time and station. He appreciated the

* Forty years afterward, when the changes of time and the desolations of war had turned the old homestead into a ruin, and the large stone, with its full but rudely cut epitaph was thrown down, and the grave was in a way soon to be lost sight of, the remains of Bishop McKendree were disinterred, and placed, with Bishop Soule's, in the *campus* of Vanderbilt University. A granite monument marks the spot where the two rest together—Cavalier and Puritan.

relation of good government to a pure religion; and in government, he understood the relation of its parts. He saw the missionary epoch inaugurated, at home and abroad. The educational advance came in his day. "The last letter," says his biographer, then at the head of one of the rising institutions of the South, "the last letter I ever received from him, and not long previous to his death, contained fifty dollars for La Grange College. The handwriting detected the giver. No appeal had been made to him, yet out of his annual pittance he was prompted by his interest in the cause of education to make the donation, and tried to conceal the donor. His special object was that the money should be applied to place in the college library the standard religious literature of the Church, for the instruction and benefit of the students."

It is not beneath the dignity of the subject, in illustrating character, to add that, like other itinerants, he had a kind feeling for his horse. Asbury admired his sure-footed Fox as he nobly breasted a mountain torrent. Soule took Hero from the turf, believing that blood would tell; and how many continental rounds he made on him it might sound marvelous to say. And McKendree did not forget "Old Gray," a horse as well known to thousands as his master. They had become superannuated together, and he bequeathed money sufficient out of his savings to furnish the venerable roadster, nearing thirty years, with plenty of food, a good stable, and a bluegrass pasture for life.

Members are gathering at Cincinnati for the General Conference, and many will remember the manner of Bishop McKendree's leave-taking in 1832, described by one who saw it:

His last visit to the Conference was made the day before the adjournment. Having remained as long as his strength would allow, he arose to retire. He was but too conscious of his approaching dissolution to expect ever to meet his brethren again in another General Conference. Leaning on his staff, his once tall and manly form now bent with age and infirmity, his eyes suffused with tears, his voice faltering with emotion, he exclaimed, "Let all things be done without strife or vainglory, and try to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace! My brethren and children, love one another." Then spreading forth his trembling hands and raising his eyes to heaven, he pronounced, in faltering and affectionate accents, the apostolic benediction. Slowly and sadly he left the house to return no more. The whole assembly rose and stood till he disappeared.

CHAPTER XLI.

The Struggle and Defeat of Abolitionism in the Church—Presiding Elders in the Conflict—General Conference Refuses to Change the Discipline—Restates the Position—Despairing to Accomplish their Purpose, Abolitionists Secede—The Wesleyan Methodist Church Organized—Peace and Prosperity.

THE meeting of the General Conference (May, 1836) in Cincinnati presented a reduced delegation but a very able body. The death of two and the infirm health of three bishops made the strengthening of the episcopacy necessary, and near the close of the session Beverly Waugh, then Book Agent at New York, a native of Fairfax county, Virginia, and Wilbur Fisk, were elected. After several ballotings, Thomas A. Morris was also chosen. Dr. Fisk was then absent in Europe, and on his return declined accepting the office, believing it to be his duty to remain President of the Wesleyan University.*

The Missionary Society now took its position as one of the great departments of the Church, and Dr. Nathan Bangs was elected Secretary, with a salary and no other work to do.

A familiar ghost reappeared. The report adopted shows how it fared—presented May 22 by the chairman, John Davis, a leading member of the Baltimore Conference:

The committee to whom were referred sundry memorials from the North, praying that certain rules on the subject of slavery, which formerly existed in our book of Discipline, should be restored, and that the General Conference take such measures as they may deem proper to free the Church from the evil of slavery, beg leave to report that they have had the subject under serious consideration, and are of opinion that the prayers of the memorialists cannot be granted, believing that it would be highly improper for the General Conference to take any action that would alter or change our rules on the subject of slavery. Your committee therefore respectfully submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to make any change in our book of Discipline respecting slavery, and that we deem it improper further to agitate the subject in the General Conference at present.

During the session of the Conference an anti-slavery meeting was held in the city, and two members attended and took part in

* On the first ballot 153 voters were present. Beverly Waugh obtained 85 and Wilbur Fisk 78 votes. After balloting the sixth time, Thomas A. Morris obtained 86 votes. (General Conference Journal.)

the discussion. Whereupon their conduct was taken notice of in the following manner:

Whereas great excitement has prevailed in this country on the subject of modern abolitionism, which is reported to have been increased in this city recently by the unjustifiable conduct of two members of the General Conference, in lecturing upon and in favor of that agitating topic; and whereas such a course on the part of any of its members is calculated to bring upon this body the suspicions and distrust of the community, and misrepresent its sentiments in regard to the point at issue; and whereas in this aspect of the case, a due regard for its own character, as well as a just concern for the interests of the Church confided to its care, demand a full, decided, and unequivocal expression of the views of the General Conference in the premises: therefore,

Resolved, by the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That they disapprove, in the most unqualified sense, the conduct of two members of the General Conference who are reported to have lectured in this city recently upon and in favor of modern abolitionism.

Resolved, That they are decidedly opposed to modern abolitionism, and wholly disclaim any right, wish, or intention to interfere in the civil and political relation between master and slave as it exists in the slave-holding States of this Union.

The first resolution was adopted, one hundred and twenty-two voting in favor, and eleven against it.

The second resolution was then read. An amendment was moved by Orange Scott, of New England, and after considerable debate the motion to amend was lost, one hundred and twenty-three against, and fourteen in favor of it. The resolution was again read, and a division of it called for. The first member of the resolution was adopted, one hundred and twenty in favor, and fourteen against it. On taking the question on the remaining part of the resolution, one hundred and thirty-seven voted in favor of it, and none in the opposition. The preamble was then read and adopted.

David Young, of Ohio, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, to which was referred the complaints of certain local preachers in Lancaster county, Virginia—belonging to the Baltimore Conference—made a report. The complainants first invite the attention of the General Conference to the section of the Discipline which states that “no slave-holder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter, when the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.” They then produce an extract of the laws from the commonwealth of Virginia, showing their extreme rigor in this matter, and they allege that the

Conference has unjustly refused them ordination, because of slave-holding, as they deem their case to be precisely one of the exceptions to the general statute provided for in the Discipline.

The committee refrain from judging the Baltimore Conference, not knowing all the grounds of action in dealing with the cases of certain slave-holding local preachers, and conclude thus: "Having said this much respecting the alleged grounds of grievance, your committee agree in the opinion that the exceptions to the general rule in the Discipline, referred to by the petitioners, clearly apply to official members of the Church in Virginia, according to the laws of the commonwealth, and do therefore protect them against a forfeiture of their official standing on account of said rule." The report was adopted.

If any thing else were necessary to define the position of Methodism, it was furnished in the Pastoral Address. On motion of S. G. Rozell, of the Baltimore Conference, the committee appointed to draft it were formally instructed "to take notice of the subject of modern abolition, that has so seriously agitated the different parts of our country, and that they let our preachers, members, and friends know that the General Conference is opposed to the agitation of that subject, and will use all prudent means to put it down." And these instructions were followed.

This session was noteworthy for the amount of well-digested legislation on the Book Concern, the revised constitution of the Missionary Society, the order of Church courts in the trial of preachers and members, and the location of inefficient and unacceptable traveling preachers, and for a general improvement in ecclesiastical jurisprudence.

In addition to the *Christian Advocate and Journal* and the *Western Christian Advocate*, similar papers were established in Charleston, Richmond, and Nashville, to be conducted under the direction and patronage of the Connection. *The Christian Apologist*, for the Germans, was also authorized to be published in Cincinnati by the Western Book Concern.

A new and stringent act on Temperance being under discussion, "on motion of William Winans it was resolved that the resolution under consideration be referred to the Bishops, with the request that they give their opinion whether it interferes with the fourth restrictive regulation in our Discipline." The resolution went to the Annual Conferences, which failed to concur.

While peace and prosperity were the rule for the next eight years, New England was an exception. The two delegates of the New Hampshire Conference—Norris and Storrs—who had been censured at Cincinnati, were lionized at home. A systematic agitation was begun, and extraordinary preambles and resolutions were thrust upon Annual and Quarterly Conferences. Some of these resolutions censured the acts and attitude of other Annual Conferences, especially in the South; unchristianized a large proportion of American Methodists; reflected seriously upon the administration; and pronounced harsh judgment upon ministers and members in good standing in the Church who had not been arraigned. The Bishops, believing that one Annual Conference had no right to censure the proceedings of another, and that such business was no part of the disciplinary schedule which they, as executive and judicial officers of the Church, were required to carry out, ruled against these resolutions, and declined to put them to vote; and they instructed the presiding elders to hold their judicatories to legal and legitimate business. One, who allowed the quarterly-meetings of his district to be turned virtually into abolition meetings, was removed; another, who became very unpopular for keeping abolition business off the record and out of the official meetings, was returned to his district in the face of opposition. Of course, vigorous and pushing men like Messrs. Scott, Storrs, Horton, Sunderland, Merrill, and their company, were not to be checked up by "rulings." Their consciences were in it, and they must testify, not only as men, but "in a Conference capacity." The tyranny of bishops was denounced, and the elective presiding eldership was in favor. The older Bishops—Hedding and Soule—encountered rough seas, but weathered the storm with only slight damage; but when it was the turn of Bishops Waugh and Morris to preside in New England, they properly dreaded it. The latter wrote requesting Bishop Soule to meet him in New Hampshire, and help him out. Bishop Waugh held the Conference at Nantucket, June, 1837.* A caucus or convention representing sixty preachers met in advance or outside of the session, to arrange a programme, and a committee was appointed to wait on him and inquire whether he will rule against the introduction of abolition peti-

**Anti-slavery Struggle and Triumph in the Methodist Episcopal Church*, by L. C. Matlack, D.D., 1881; with an Introduction by D. D. Whedon, D.D.

tions, appointing a committee on them, and discussing and disposing of any report from such a committee in a Conference capacity, and they conclude: "We think we have good reason to believe that if the privilege of introducing these petitions and memorials of our people is denied, the Conference will refuse to act on any subject that shall be introduced."* The Bishop asked time to consider of it; and next day he replied in a long letter. We give an extract:

I respectfully and affectionately say to you that as far as may be consistent with my obligations to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, it will afford me pleasure to abstain from any course in which conflict or disagreement will be likely to arise on any subject which may come before the Conference. I cannot, however, admit the doctrine which you have set up in your communication, when you say that it is your right to appoint a committee to report on said memorial, and also to act on any report from such committee. I cannot admit this unqualified and unlimited doctrine of right, because I know of no instrument or organization, or established usage, which gives such a right to an Annual Conference. Annual Conferences owe their existence to the General Conference, and cannot have organization without the action of that body in fixing the boundaries thereof. The General Conference determines not only the location and bounds of an Annual Conference, but defines the business to which its action extends. It will not be pretended by any one that an Annual Conference is a legislative body. Its functions are judicial and executive. Whence then the right claimed, to receive memorials on the subject of slavery, to refer them to a committee, and to act on any report which may be made by such committee? It is, indeed, admitted that those Conferences within whose bounds slavery exists can and ought to take such cognizance of the subject as they are empowered and directed to do by the General Conference, and to perform executive acts in fulfillment of the regulations of the General Conference; but what executive act can be performed by an Annual Conference on the subject of slavery, in whose bounds it has no existence? But the doctrine set up cannot be admitted because of its destructive tendency. If an Annual Conference can extend its jurisdiction over questions other than those which are judicial and executive, then it may introduce and prosecute measures which may arraign, censure, or condemn the very body which gives it existence. It may appoint a committee to investigate and report on any of our doctrines,

* It was "voted" to appoint a committee "to fix on some proper plan of operations," in case the Bishop's rulings were not favorable; and this is the report which the Rev. La Roy Sunderland, chairman of the committee of five, presented: "The committee to whom was referred the question as to the best measures for the Conference to take, in case the Bishop denies us the right of acting in a Conference capacity on the memorials to be presented on the subject of slavery to-morrow morning, report that in their opinion the best measure in the case above supposed will be to lay every other question upon the table till this right is granted us; as this question, under present circumstances, the committee believe to be paramount in its claims to any other which can at this time come before the Conference. And should this plan fail we recommend that the Conference should adjourn to the commencement of another session, from time to time, till our rights are granted us; and that the intervals be spent in solemn prayer" (Methodism and Slavery, by L. C. Matlack, 1849.)

either favorably or unfavorably. It may take under its revision the very Discipline itself, and by report sanction or condemn it.

The correspondence, and questions for the Chair on the Conference floor, ran along through the session; the Bishop was badly badgered, and afterward roundly berated.

Bishop Hedding argued the case often and at length with his old friends of New England. A short extract from one of his addresses will serve to indicate the drift:

It has been said, "It is the prerogative of the (Annual) Conference to decide *what* business they will do, and *when* they will do it." But I deny it—this is assuming the rights of the General Conference, and usurping a control over the president of an Annual Conference which no body of men has a right to exercise but the General Conference. And because I was unwilling to submit to this usurpation I have been severely censured. I have been unjustly, repeatedly, and cruelly held up to public view, by certain inconsiderate writers, as one who infringed on the "rights" of my brethren.

Of course these reformers had an organ—*Zion's Watchman*. In its columns vituperation ran riot. They denounced officials as pro-slavery, the tools of the slave power, tyrants; they assailed the whole Church as "rotten," "stained with the blood of bondsmen." Dr. Fisk saw the plague spreading, and wrote able letters sustaining the administration, and declaring to his New England friends "that the doctrines and measures of modern abolitionism are revolutionary in their character and tendency, and must, if persisted in, end in schism and in the dismemberment of the Church of Christ." Dr. Bangs and Bishops Hedding and Soule, out of abundant material, repeatedly brought charges against some of the leaders for "slander," "falsehood," "misrepresentation," "treating me in a scurrilous manner," "publishing against me an injurious falsehood." It availed nothing. Charges might be supported by specifications and specifications by proof, but getting a verdict was another thing. The result was—acquitted, triumphantly acquitted! "Modern abolition" had this quality—it was blind, as well as bitter.

Sunderland, who conveniently held a superannuated relation, moved to New York City to publish his paper, and fell into a trap which his partisans averred had been set to catch him. A late law provided that a superannuated preacher might be arrested for "immoral and unchristian conduct" wherever residing, even though outside of his Conference limit. Sunderland was arrested and tried before D. Ostrander, presiding elder of

New York District, and found guilty on eleven specifications, including such terms as "misrepresentation," "vituperation," "deception," "defamation," "slander" — a committee of five leading ministers saying over their signatures that "the charge is clearly and fully sustained by the testimony." He was suspended until the New England Conference met, which promptly set aside the whole affair. The New York Conference (in 1839) sent up a grave charge against him, with a committee to prosecute it. After hearing the case, the verdict was: "And he hereby is acquitted, on the charge preferred against him by the New York Annual Conference."*

The presiding elders had a hard time; for where a bishop had one conflict in a year they might have twenty. Some Quarterly Conferences were closed up after the presiding elder, worn out and worried by adjournment and other tactics, had left the chair, and matters were entertained and entered upon the official journal which he had ruled out.

The whole matter came before the General Conference of 1840, both in passing upon the administration of the four preceding years, and in the Address of the Bishops. The Address brought the subject up directly. After speaking of the satisfactory state of the Connection, and the good effects and general observance of the Pastoral Address sent forth in 1836, which advised abstinence "from all abolition movements and from agitating the exciting subject in the Church," it adds: "But we regret that we are compelled to say that in some of the Northern and Eastern Conferences, in contravention of your Christian and pastoral counsel and our best efforts to carry it into effect, the subject has been agitated in such forms and in such a spirit as to disturb the peace of the Church. This unhappy agitation has not been confined to the Annual Conferences, but has been introduced into Quarterly Conferences and made the absorbing business of self-created bodies in the bosom of our beloved Zion." After stating the controversy that had arisen as to "the constitutional powers of the General Superintendents in their relations to the Annual Conferences," and as to "the rights of Annual and Quarterly Conferences in their official capacities," and showing that "the geographical bounds of the controversy are very limited," the Address proceeds to state the points at issue:

* *Methodism and Slavery*, by L. C. Matlack, pages 248-251.

The whole subject may be presented to you in the following simple questions: When any business comes up for action in our Annual or Quarterly Conferences, involving a difficulty on a question of law, so as to produce the inquiry, What is the law in the case? does the constitutional power to decide the question belong to the president or the Conference? Have the Annual Conferences a constitutional right to do any other business than what is specifically prescribed, or by fair construction, provided for in the form of Discipline? Has the president of an Annual Conference, by virtue of his office, a right to decline putting a motion or resolution to vote, on business other than that thus prescribed or provided for? These questions are proposed with exclusive reference to the principle of constitutional right. The principles of courtesy and expediency are very different things.

As far as we have been able to ascertain the views of those who entertain opinions opposite to our own on these points, they may be summed up as follows: They maintain that all questions of law arising out of the business of our Annual or Quarterly Conferences are to be, of right, settled by the decision of those bodies, either primarily by resolution or finally by an appeal from the decision of the president; "that it is the prerogative of an Annual Conference to decide what business they will do and when they will do it;" that they have a constitutional right "to discuss, in their official capacity, all moral subjects;" to investigate the official acts of other Annual Conferences, of the General Conference, and of the General Superintendents, so far as to pass resolutions of disapprobation or approval on those acts. They maintain that the president of an Annual Conference is to be regarded in the same relation to the Conferences that a chairman or speaker sustains to a civil legislative assembly; that it is his duty to preserve order in the Conference, to determine questions of order subject to appeal, and put to vote all motions and resolutions, when called for, according to the rules of the body; that these are the settled landmarks of his official prerogatives as president of the Conference, beyond which he has no right to go; that although it belongs to his office, as general superintendent, to appoint the time for holding the several Annual Conferences, he has no discretionary authority to adjourn them, whatever length of time they may have continued their session, or whatever business they may think proper to transact. From these doctrines we have felt it our solemn duty to dissent; and we will not withhold from you our deliberate and abiding conviction that should they be sustained by the General Conference the uniform and efficient administration of the government would be rendered impracticable.

The response of the General Conference came in the form of the following enactment, proposed by a committee of which Dr. Winans was chairman:

The president of an Annual or a Quarterly-meeting Conference has the right to decline putting the question on a motion, resolution, or report, when in his judgment such motion, resolution, or report does not relate to the proper business of the Conference; provided that in all such cases the president, on being required by the Conference to do so, shall have inserted in the journals of the Conference his refusal to put the question on such motion, resolution, or report, with his reason for so refusing.

That the president of an Annual or a Quarterly-meeting Conference has the

right to adjourn the Conference over which he presides when, in his judgment, all the business prescribed by the Discipline to such Conference shall have been transacted; provided that if an exception be taken by the Conference to his so adjourning it, the exception shall be entered upon the journal of such Conference.

The *proviso* secures the ground—if there be ground—for a charge of maladministration or malfeasance against the presiding officer to the proper tribunal.

A memorial from the official members of Westmoreland, Virginia, repeated the complaint which four years before had been sent up by their neighbors of Lancaster, that, while geographically they were subject to State laws under which emancipation, in the sense of the Discipline, could not take place, the Baltimore Conference, to which ecclesiastically they belonged, discriminated against them, refusing to elect local preachers to orders, or to admit them into the traveling connection, because they were slave-holders. Whereupon the following action was taken:

Resolved, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That under the provisional exception of the general rule of the Church on the subject of slavery, the simple holding of slaves, or mere ownership of slave property, in States or Territories where the laws do not admit of emancipation and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom, constitutes no legal barrier to the election or ordination of ministers to the various grades of office known in the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and cannot therefore be considered as operating any forfeiture of right in view of such election and ordination.

The English Wesleyans had, as usual, proffered advice on the vexed question, to which the American Methodists say in a reply adopted by the General Conference and signed by all the Bishops: "We assure you then, brethren, that we have adopted no new principle or rule of discipline respecting slavery since the time of our apostolic Asbury; neither do we mean to adopt any. We should regard it a sore evil to divert Methodism from her proper work of 'spreading Scripture holiness over these lands,' to questions of temporal import, involving the rights of Cæsar."

The foreign brethren are reminded of the peculiar structure of the United States Government:

That while some States favor emancipation, there are others in which slavery exists so universally and is so closely interwoven with their civil institutions that both do the laws disallow of emancipation and the great body of the people (the source of laws with us) hold it to be treasonable to set forth any thing, by word or deed, tending that way. Each one of all these States is independent of the rest and sovereign, with respect to its internal government (as much so as

if there existed no confederation among them for ends of common interest), and therefore it is impossible to frame a rule on slavery proper for our people in all the States alike. Under the administration of the venerated Dr. Coke, this plain distinction was once overlooked, and it was attempted to urge emancipation in all the States; but the attempt proved almost ruinous, and was soon abandoned by the Doctor himself. While, therefore, the Church has encouraged emancipation in those States where the laws permit it, and allowed the freed man to enjoy freedom, we have refrained for conscience' sake from all intermeddling with the subject in those other States where the laws make it criminal. And such a course we think agreeable to the Scriptures and indicated by St. Paul's inspired instruction to servants in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter vii., verses 20-24.

This part of the Address concludes by quoting with approval the words of Richard Watson, speaking, in 1833, to their own preachers in the West Indies: "Your only business is to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves to whom you may have access, without in the least degree, in public or private, interfering with their civil condition."

The North and East furnished able combatants on both sides of the home controversy. The propositions affirmed by the abolitionists and denied by the conservatives may be stated thus: All slave-holding is sinful. No slave-holder should be retained in the communion of the Christian Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church is largely responsible for the continuance of slavery in the United States. The Discipline should be changed so as to exclude all slave-holders. Immediate and unconditional emancipation is the duty and the right of all.

The conservatives set forth that the Old Testament recognized the patriarchs as owning servants or slaves, who became such by purchase or by being born in their house; that laws regulating slavery were divinely authorized; and that the New Testament nowhere forbade the owning of slaves, but recognized both Christian masters and their Christian slaves as united in fellowship in the apostolic Churches; and as to violent "extirpation," even admitting the worst, they reminded their opponents of the parable of the wheat and tares.

The abolitionists, replying, quoted the original Methodist testimonies against all slave-holding; their subsequent modifications, and the repeal of anti-slavery statutes; the abandonment of early systematic plans of agitation; and the toleration of the practice as evidence of responsibility for slavery.

A resolution asking for a constitutional change of Discipline,

making non-slave-holding a condition of membership, had passed the New England Conference, and been sent to the other Annual Conferences for concurrence, but it met with little favor.*

In the New York, Erie, and Pittsburg Conferences measures were adopted and discipline enforced against ministers of these bodies for their attendance upon anti-slavery conventions and advocacy of abolition views "under the pretense of preaching sermons." A standing question in the Philadelphia Conference in 1837 and for years was, Are you an abolitionist?—an affirmative answer insuring the rejection of a candidate for admission. The discouragement of the reformers after the General Conference of 1840 was general and deep. "There is no reforming the Church," said some who had been sanguine. "Abolitionism is dead," sighed others. A few held on, moaning, "There is no hope." An author remarks: "Nevertheless, the Methodist anti-slavery societies were not given up, though they had a sickly existence. The brethren in New England could not, with any face, give up the form, although the thing itself was languishing."†

"During the autumn of 1840 an effort was made to rally the abolitionists of the Church generally by holding a convention in New York City, which brought together a large number of them." An American Wesleyan Anti-slavery Society was organized, but died at its first anniversary.‡ It was clear the Church meant to maintain the "Discipline as it is." Having lost all hope, the abolitionists prepared to secede.

In 1842 the Wesleyan Methodist Church was organized, under the leadership of Messrs. Scott, Horton, Sunderland, Luther Lee, Brewster, Ogden, Matlack, Prindle, and others—men of force and of earnest convictions. The new organization accepted the doctrines of the parent Church, but made non-slave-holding

* In the Genesee Conference, thirty voted for it and sixty against it. The Pittsburg Conference gave five votes for it. All the other Conferences outside of New England gave less votes than these two, and in most cases none at all. The Michigan Conference gave one vote for it, and the Erie Conference three. The North Carolina, Philadelphia, Missouri, Indiana, New Jersey, Troy, Black River, Illinois, Kentucky, Georgia, Baltimore, Virginia, and others, were unanimous for non-concurrence, or reported no votes in favor of it. (Matlack's *Anti-slavery Struggle and Triumph*.)

† Elliott's *Great Secession*, as quoted by Matlack.

‡ Porter's *History of Methodism*, Chapter XI. Matlack's *Anti-slavery Struggle and Triumph*.

a condition of membership. They established a paper called the *True Wesleyan* and a Book Concern in Syracuse, New York. Within two or three years about twenty thousand members withdrew, and joined them. Central New York and New England were the principal seat of the secession. Strong and persistent efforts were made to draw away disciples after them, and both among ministers and members the indications of loss were formidable; but, as in 1828, when the other chronic element of trouble drew off, so now, many who had talked came to a pause at the actual crisis. Men like Timothy Merritt could not lightly leave the Church that made them, and which, in turn, they had helped to make. A reaction set in. Many ultraists became moderate for awhile, trying to save their Church from the ruin of ultraism. The local irritation was active, but the general relief was great. Conservatism had triumphed everywhere except in one corner of the land, and there the "geographical bounds of the controversy were very limited."

Now came a period of peace and prosperity unprecedented. Revivals prevailed, churches were built, colleges and schools were full of students pursuing a higher curriculum; the mission-work among the slaves, ever sensitive to such excitement, had fallen off—but now it revived and prospered greatly. The increase of the Church far exceeded any thing known in its previous history, being in 1841, 57,473; in 1842, 60,883; in 1843, 154,624; and in 1844, 102,831—making a total increase in the four years of more than 375,000.

The experience of primitive days was comfortably repeated: "Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied."

CHAPTER XLII.

Texas Independence—The Republic Open to the Gospel—First Missionaries: Ruter, Fowler, Alexander—Alexander First and Last in the Field—Arkansas; Pioneers: William Stephenson, Henry Stevenson; Local Preachers: Alford, Kinney, Denton, the Orr Brothers—Organization of Texas Conference—Appointments—Centenary Year—Progress of the Church—General Missionary Secretaries: Bangs, Capers, Ames.

IN the spring of 1836 the decisive battle of San Jacinto was fought. The Texas Republic was set up; that wide door was thrown open to Protestantism, and before another year the episcopacy, in conjunction with the Missionary Society, had planned to enter it. Dr. Martin Ruter, President of Alleghany College, was appointed superintendent of the mission; and Littleton Fowler, then Agent for La Grange College, and Robert Alexander, stationed at Natchez, were his assistants.

Again Natchez is the starting-point of Church extension. Alexander being nearest the field was first in it, quite in advance of his co-laborers.* He crossed the Sabine River on the 19th of August, 1837. His commission was an indefinite one—"Missionary to Texas." Having traveled a few miles he found a settlement and, calling the neighbors together, delivered his first sermon in a private house. His host, after a short time, entered his room and informed him that the people were unwilling to leave without another sermon. He held a camp-meeting in the neighborhood, where a class had been organized in 1834. After spending a few days more in forming the San Augustine Circuit, Alexander proceeded westward and cheered the hearts of a band of old Methodists at Washington, who had been praying for a preacher. A second camp-meeting was held. He had the coöperation of a few faithful local preachers who had gathered a score of members, of whom a goodly number were present at this camp-meeting west of the Brazos. For another month he traveled and preached in the scattered settlements, organizing classes and laying the foundation for future churches.

* History of Methodism in Texas, by Rev. Homer S. Thrall (Houston, 1872)—12mo, pages 210; and the Jubilee copy of the *Texas Christian Advocate*, 1884. To these valuable sources we are indebted for much of the following information.

Littleton Fowler entered the Republic *via* Red River, traveling in company with John B. Denton. Going on south, he preached in Nacogdoches, and then went to Washington, where he met Alexander, just after the close of his camp-meeting. He left for the Mississippi Conference, which met at Natchez, Dec. 6, but Fowler remained in the West and, being in Houston about the time Congress assembled, was elected chaplain of the Senate. He received from the proprietors of the city a title to a half-block of ground, upon which the Methodist church and parsonage in that city now stand.

Dr. Ruter, with Mr. David Ayres, descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to Rodney; there took horse and, going west, met Alexander at the Sabine, as he was recrossing that border stream to report to his Conference. The two spent nearly the entire night in laying plans for future operations. The superintendent of the mission, with sagacious ardor, pursued his way to the Colorado. It is said that within three months he had gathered the names of three hundred persons formerly members of the Methodist Church. He preached before the Texas Congress, and devised liberal things for education. He selected points where to place ten or a dozen new laborers, and by correspondence and personal influence deeply interested public opinion in the United States for the evangelization of Texas. But in May, returning for his family, Dr. Ruter was prostrated with a fatal sickness, and made his honored grave in the mission field.

The Texas Conference was organized December 25, 1840, by Bishop Waugh, Thomas O. Summers being secretary. Robert Alexander was the precursor of an itinerant army which at his death numbered over five hundred. He lived to see Texas divided into six Annual Conferences (one for the German Methodists), with eight hundred local preachers and ninety thousand Church-members within its magnificent domain.*

*The first list of appointments will always be an interesting record. *San Augustine District*: L. Fowler, P. E.; San Augustine, F. Wilson; Nacogdoches to be supplied; Harrison, N. Shook; Jasper, H. D. Palmer. *Galveston District*: S. A. Williams, P. E.; Galveston and Houston, Thomas O. Summers; Brazoria, A. P. Manley; Montgomery, Richard Owen, J. H. Collard; Liberty to be supplied; Crockett, Daniel Carl; Nashville, R. Crawford. *Rutersville District*: R. Alexander, P. E. Austin, J. Haynie; Washington, Jesse Hord; Center Hill, R. H. Hill; Matagorda, D. N. V. Sullivan; Victoria, Joseph P. Sneed. Chauncey Richardson, President of Rutersville College.

Ruter fell early; Fowler lived not long, and left a son to take his place in the ranks. The memory of both is blessed. Other laborers, strong and well adapted, were raised up or brought in. But the name of Robert Alexander is preëminent. He entered the Tennessee Conference in 1831, in his twentieth year. After four years on circuits, he was promoted to the Chickasaw District, in Mississippi, and thence to his first station. When beginning his forty-five years' labor in Texas he was in the prime of a vigorous manhood, with an experience beyond his years. He stood six feet five inches high; was of a robust constitution. His hair was reddish, his features strong, his eye intelligent, and his courage equal to any emergency. He was blessed with an excellent judgment, and a mellow, Christian experience. The Conference memoir says, he "has left the impress of his character upon every Methodist institution in the State. As a preacher he was the peer of any of his comrades. Clear, logical, and fearless, he preached the gospel with a consciousness that his authority was not from men, but from God. No man has done more for the cause of Christ and public virtue in Texas, and every Christian communion in the State is indebted to him for part of its life and growth."

Let us not forget those who went before. William Stephenson was born at Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, and though forty-seven years old when admitted into Conference, he did thirty-nine years of most valuable labor. He itinerated from Missouri, through Arkansas and Louisiana to Texas. He was a good preacher—a great preacher, the people said. From 1821 to 1825 he was presiding elder on the Arkansas District, then a part of the Missouri Conference. Subsequently he was presiding elder on the Louisiana District from 1829 to 1833. This brought him to the Sabine River, and he went over occasionally and bore the gospel to the Americans who had settled there, disregarding the Romish interdicts of the Mexican authorities.

Another pioneer, but not akin, was Henry Stevenson, a native of Kentucky, converted and licensed to preach by Jesse Walker on the Illinois frontier in 1804. In 1817 he, with his growing family, settled in Hempstead county, Arkansas, and was useful as a local preacher. In 1820 he took work under the presiding elder. He was admitted on trial in the traveling connection, but his poverty and the cares of a large family made him unwilling

to continue. Henry Stevenson visited Austin's Colony as early as 1824, and preached near Washington and on the Colorado, near Columbus and San Felipe. He also paid these settlements a visit in 1828, and another in 1830. In June, 1834, he organized a church in San Augustine, and made such headway that, among the Mississippi appointments for 1835 we read: Texas Mission—Henry Stevenson. "His life," says our authority, "was spent upon the frontier, amid its perils and privations, and he accomplished an immense amount of good. He preached along the whole western boundary of settlements from the Missouri River to the Colorado, and left a name which is as ointment poured forth through all this vast region. It is hard to fathom the secret of his success. He was neither learned nor eloquent, in the ordinary acceptation of the terms, but he was a good man, and cherished a single purpose to glorify God and do all the good in his power."

Besides Needham Alford and the two Orrs—twin brothers—the most popular local preacher in prehistoric Texas Methodism was John W. Kinney, a son-in-law of Barnabas McHenry, who crossed the Brazos in 1833, and preached from Bastrop to Gonzales and Brazoria, and was ready with a camp-meeting and membership when Alexander reached his neighborhood four years later. J. B. Denton was killed in an Indian raid.

While in session at Cincinnati the General Conference heard the news of the battle of San Jacinto; at the next session, in Baltimore, it authorized the organization of the Texas Conference. Such had been the extension of the field that there were in 1840 twenty-eight Annual Conferences, and five others were constituted at this session. For the first time in twelve years, petitions were sent in asking for the election of presiding elders by the Annual Conferences, and also praying for a "moderate episcopacy." All these petitions came from New England.

The session at Baltimore was enlivened by the presence of the Rev. Robert Newton, from England, and the Rev. Messrs. Ryerson, from Canada. The eloquent English delegate not only was heard with delight and profit from the pulpit and platform, but he preached in the open air to immense crowds, showing on a Baltimore square the secret of gospel power that had triumphed on Moorfield Common a hundred years before.

Bishop Soule was appointed a fraternal delegate to the British

Conference in 1842, with the Rev. Thomas B. Sargent as traveling companion. Bishop Hedding received a similar appointment to the Canada Conference.

The Rev. Nelson Reed, the oldest traveling preacher in the United States, though not a member, was invited to a seat on the platform. Fifty-six years before, he had taken part in the organization of the Church in that city.

In February, 1836, the Book Concern was burned. The new buildings on Mulberry street and the stock were consumed, and for a loss of \$250,000 there was a recoverable insurance of only \$25,000. But from North and South donations to the amount of \$90,000 were realized, and the agents with increasing patronage went forward with unchecked prosperity.

The Church was feeling joyfully the results of the Centenary Celebration of 1839. English Methodism raised a million of dollars that year; America, about \$600,000; and the statistics of Methodism throughout the world showed 1,171,000 members. To-day, churches and schools throughout the country bear the name of "Centenary," dating from that year. The statistical review was inspiring, and a better acquaintance with their own history, institutions, and doctrines was grateful and invigorating to the Episcopal Methodists. They numbered, at this time, 749,216 members, 3,557 traveling preachers, and 5,856 local preachers. The Missionary Society was reported as being in a flourishing condition, having appropriated \$411,810 during the four preceding years, and it more than doubled the collections of 1839 in 1840. Three General Secretaries were appointed—Dr. Bangs remained at New York; for the South, Dr. Capers was elected, and for the West, the Rev. E. R. Ames.

The prospect was full of hope; the time, propitious. ' So true is it, that the Church has nothing to fear from foes without, if there is peace within.

CHAPTER XLIII.

The Situation—Abolitionism a Failure in the Church, a Success Outside of it—
Meeting of General Conference in 1844: Proceedings in Bishop Andrew's Case;
The Griffith Resolution; The Finley Substitute; Drift of Debate; Extracts
from a Few Speeches: The Final Vote; The Protest; The Plan of Separation.

WE have seen Episcopal Methodism, by the blessing of God upon its polity and doctrines, spreading the gospel over all these lands. It has shown conservative as well as progressive power. Four large secessions and one peaceable separation have been endured, and yet every part of its government is maintained intact, and its strength has constantly increased. Internal elements, not germane to the system, have been eliminated; outward opposition has been overcome; and accessions to the membership have so overbalanced secessions that the growing statistics do not afford a hint of the years of the greatest withdrawal. The original doctrinal standards have been so well preserved that all the minor bodies agree on them, take them away with them, and are jealous of their right to them as a precious and peculiar heritage.

We have seen "modern abolitionism," an irrepressible and irritating humor in the body of this Methodism, come to a head. Under the leadership of Scott, Sunderland, and their company, it is drawn off, and the old Church experiences a sense of relief and bounds forward. Many Methodists in position to know, many in the North and East, said that all trouble was over; the triumph of conservatism was complete and its vindication glorious. But affairs were destined to take another turn. The abolitionists have lost the battle on the ecclesiastical arena; on the political, they may win it, and did. A new force was evolved and came into play. Birney, and Lundy, and Tappan, and Garrison, have been working away, and their work is now felt. They began their agitation not on the religious or loyal line; for the Bible and the Constitution were spurned, and the Methodist Church, with others, was honored with their denunciations. No minister could be found to officiate at the first meeting of the abolitionists in Boston. By and by Congress began to be plied with petitions, and slavery in the District of Columbia and slavery in the territories began to be discussed; and the utterances of infuriate

politicians on both sides became generators of public opinion. Parties were formed—municipal, State, and federal—so as to conciliate or take advantage of this new force.* Though in the Church the movement had signally failed, the astute secular leaders were willing to accept aid from that quarter; and justice requires it to be said, aid was rendered so effectively that the complexion of “modern abolitionism” was changed, and it came, in the end, to conceive of itself not only as moral but religious.

One of the most incisive and candid Northern writers, who finally threw his whole weight against the South, testifies:

It is of the first importance for us fully to realize that the abolition movement was, in fact, an utter moral failure. It is a signal, popular illusion that original abolitionism was a great, successful moral reform. This error is propagated with much magniloquence by Mr. Garrison's latest biographer. You would think from the ordinary story that slavery was abolished by moral suasion, and that essentially by the Garrisonian programme. Quite the reverse. All Mr. Garrison did was to madden the slave-holders and bring on a war. The war might have created a slave empire, and have perpetuated the system forever. The abolition was not a moral achievement but a war measure.†

When this business passed into the realm of civil legislation it went to its right place. We say nothing here of the right or wrong methods pursued; but it belonged there. For obvious reasons, the question when taken up by politicians became more or less sectional; and when it became sectional it soon became unequal. Through the immigrant gates of Castle Garden poured hundreds of thousands annually to swell the ranks on one side. In 1838 England completed her scheme of emancipation in the West Indies, and the powerful pressure from that quarter was felt in getting up the sentiment that always precedes a new party. Englishmen are wise and, in whatever concerns themselves,

*The New York State Anti-slavery Society, January, 1840, issued a call for a national convention at Albany on the first day of April ensuing, to discuss “the question of an independent nomination of abolition candidates for President and Vice-president of the United States, and if thought expedient to make such nominations for the friends of freedom to support at the next election.” The nominations were made. James Gillespie Birney, of Kentucky, and Thomas Earle, of Pennsylvania, were the candidates. Of two million and a half votes cast at that election, Birney and Earle received less than seven thousand. This was laughed at, but at the next presidential election Birney, and Morris of Ohio, received sixty-two thousand three hundred votes—an increase nearly tenfold; and soon the balance of power was wielded by them in some important elections. (Matlack.)

†D. D. Whedon, D.D., *Introduction Anti-slavery Struggle and Triumph*: 1881

very practical. They did not deprive citizens of property held under a constitutional title, without compensation; they did not indulge their philanthropy at the expense of others, but paid \$100,000,000 for the eight hundred thousand slaves emancipated by Parliament. Similar propositions never tempered the schemes of American abolitionists. They even opposed the Colonization Society, whose office was to encourage voluntary emancipation by assisting emancipated negroes in returning to Africa. If, instead of being separated by a great distance from them, on tropic isles, these eight hundred thousand liberated negroes had been distributed throughout England, our English kinsmen would doubtless have given us a practical solution of the social and political problem that followed upon emancipation.

Omens of evil were felt on both sides, as Northern and Southern delegates assembled at the General Conference of 1844, in New York. On the surface all was peaceful; but a groundswell met them. New Hampshire memorials took exception to Dr Capers, one of the "three General Secretaries of the Missionary Society," as a slave-holder. May 7th the appeal of a member from the Baltimore Conference was taken up. He was an elder; February before, he had married a young lady who owned a family of five slaves. At the session of Conference in March he was required, according to a usage of that body, to manumit them. Failing to comply, he was "suspended until the next Annual Conference, or until he assures the episcopacy that he has taken the necessary steps to secure the freedom of his slaves."

The case for the appellant was argued by Dr. William A. Smith, and for the Conference by Rev. John A. Collins, with eminent ability. It appeared in evidence that by the laws of Maryland the title and ownership inhered in the wife, and that a slave could not be emancipated and continue to reside in the State in the enjoyment of liberty. On the other hand, it was maintained that no slave-holder had ever been a member of the Baltimore Conference; the offending member knew this when he entered it, and he had the fact before him when he married; that this usage of the Conference had been uniformly insisted on in the case of others; that notwithstanding the stringency of the State law, slaves had been often manumitted and remained undisturbed in the State; and as for the title, it was assumed that he could persuade his wife to join him in the act of manumission.

The reader of the journal, which is spread out with unusual fullness at this point, cannot fail to see that the chief interest in this case lay in its bearing upon another, of wider import, and that it was debated and decided with the latter constantly in view. On May 11, a vote was taken, and the motion to reverse the sentence of the Conference failed—56 ayes, 117 noes.

The hearts of men who loved God and who loved the Church were painfully conscious of the chilling shadow of an impending conflict falling upon their love for each other. They were moved to seek some remedy. Therefore, on motion of Dr. Capers, on May 14, the following preamble and resolution were adopted:

In view of the distracting agitation which has so long prevailed on the subject of slavery and abolition, and especially the difficulties under which we labor in the present General Conference on account of the relative position of our brethren North and South on this perplexing question, therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of six be appointed to confer with the Bishops, and report within two days, as to the possibility of adopting some plan, and what, for the permanent pacification of the Church.*

In seconding the motion Dr. Olin, who had been called to the place vacated by the death of Dr. Fisk, at Middletown, said:

He had feared for these two or three days that though possibly they might escape the disasters that threatened them, it was not probable. He had seen the cloud gathering, so dark that it seemed to him there was no hope left for them unless God should give them hope. It might be from his relation to both extremities that, inferior as might be his means of forming conclusions on other topics, he had some advantages on this; and from an intimate acquaintance with the feelings of his brethren in the work he saw little ground of encouragement to hope. It appears to me (he continued) that we stand committed on this question by our principles and views of policy, and neither of us dare move a step from our position. Let us keep away from the controversy until brethren from opposite sides have come together. I confess I turn away from it with sorrow, and a deep feeling of apprehension that the difficulties that are upon us now threaten to be unmanageable. I feel it in my heart, and never felt on any subject as I do on this; and I will take it on me to say freely that I do not see how Northern men can yield their ground, or Southern men give up theirs. I do indeed believe that if our affairs remain in their present position, and this General Conference do not speak out clearly and distinctly on the subject, however unpalatable it may be, we cannot go home under this distracting question without a certainty of breaking up our Conferences. I have been to eight or ten of the Northern Conferences, and spoken freely with men of every class, and firmly believe that, with the fewest exceptions, they are influenced by the most ardent and the strongest desire to maintain the discipline of our Church. Will the Southern men believe

*Committee: Capers, Olin, Winans, Early, Hamline, and Granda.

me in this--when I say I am sincere, and well informed on the subject? The men who stand here as abolitionists are as ardently attached to Methodist episcopacy as you all. I believe it in my heart. Your Northern brethren, who seem to you to be arrayed in a hostile attitude, have suffered a great deal before they have taken their position, and they come up here distressed beyond measure, and disposed, if they believed they could, without destruction and ruin to the Church, to make concession. It may be that both parties will consent to come together and talk over the matter fairly, and unbosom themselves, and speak all that is in their hearts; and as lovers of Christ keep out passion and prejudice, and with much prayer call down the Holy Spirit upon their deliberations; and feeling the dire necessity that oppresses both parties, they will at least endeavor to adopt some plan of pacification, that if they go away it may not be without hope of meeting again as brethren. I look to this measure with desire rather than with hope. With regard to our Southern brethren--and I hold that on this question at least I may speak with some confidence--if they concede what the Northern brethren wish, if they concede that holding slaves is incompatible with holding their ministry, they may as well go to the Rocky Mountains as to their own sunny plains. The people would not bear it. They feel shut up to their principles on this point. But if our difficulties are *unmanageable*, let our spirit be right. If we must part, let us meet and pour out our tears together; and let us not give up until we have tried. I cannot speak on this subject without deep emotion. If we push our principles so far as to break up the Connection, this may be the last time we meet. I fear it! I fear it! I see no way of escape. If we find any, it will be in mutual moderation, in calling for help from the God of our fathers, and in looking upon each other as we were wont to do. These are the general objects I had in view in seconding the resolution, as they are of him who moved it.

The reverend gentleman sat down amid deep and hallowed excitement.

On motion of Dr. Durbin it was resolved that to-morrow be observed as a day of fasting and humiliation before God, and prayer for his blessing upon the committee.

Four days afterward Bishop Soule reported back: "The Committee of Conference have instructed me to report that, after a calm and deliberate investigation of the subject submitted to their consideration, they are unable to agree upon any plan of compromise to reconcile the views of the Northern and Southern Conferences."

On motion of Mr. Collins, the Committee on Episcopacy were instructed to ascertain the facts in the case of Bishop Andrew and "report the results of their investigation to-morrow morning."

On May 22, Dr. Paine, chairman, submitted the following:

"The Committee on Episcopacy, to whom was referred a resolution, submitted yesterday, instructing them to inquire whether any one of the Superintendents is connected with slavery, beg leave to present the following as their report on the subject

“The committee had ascertained, previous to the reference of the resolution, that Bishop Andrew is connected with slavery, and had obtained an interview with him on the subject; and having requested him to state the whole facts in the premises, hereby present a written communication from him in relation to this matter, and beg leave to offer it as his statement and explanation of the case:”

To the Committee on Episcopacy—Dear Brethren: In reply to your inquiry I submit the following statement of all the facts bearing on my connection with slavery. Several years since an old lady, of Augusta, Georgia, bequeathed to me a mulatto girl, in trust that I should take care of her until she should be nineteen years of age; that with her consent I should then send her to Liberia; and that in case of her refusal, I should keep her, and make her as free as the laws of the State of Georgia would permit. When the time arrived, she refused to go to Liberia, and of her own choice remains legally my slave, although I derive no pecuniary profit from her. She continues to live in her own house on my lot; and has been and is at present at perfect liberty to go to a free State at her pleasure; but the laws of the State will not permit her emancipation, nor admit such deed of emancipation to record, and she refuses to leave the State. In her case, therefore, I have been made a slave-holder legally, but not with my own consent.

Secondly. About five years since, the mother of my former wife left to her daughter, not to me, a negro boy; and as my wife died without a will more than two years since, by the laws of the State he becomes legally my property. In this case, as in the former, emancipation is impracticable in the State; but he shall be at liberty to leave the State whenever I shall be satisfied that he is prepared to provide for himself, or I can have sufficient security that he will be protected and provided for in the place to which he may go.

Third. In the month of January last I married my present wife, she being at the time possessed of slaves, inherited from her former husband's estate, and belonging to her. Shortly after my marriage, being unwilling to become their owner, regarding them as strictly hers, and the law not permitting their emancipation, I secured them to her by a deed of trust.

It will be obvious to you from the above statement of facts that I have neither bought nor sold a slave; that in the only two instances in which I am legally a slave-holder emancipation is impracticable. As to the servants owned by my wife, I have no legal responsibility in the premises, nor could my wife emancipate them if she desired to do so. I have thus plainly stated all the facts in the case, and submit the statement for the consideration of the General Conference. Yours respectfully,

JAMES O. ANDREW.

The report was made the order of the day for May 23, when Alfred Griffith and John Davis, of the Baltimore Conference, offered an historical preamble and the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Rev. James O. Andrew be, and he is hereby affectionately, requested to resign his office as one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The time limit was removed, and Mr. Griffith led off in the discussion. His speech furnished the key-note of several that followed: "A bishop among us is, therefore, only an officer of the General Conference, created for specific purposes, and for no other than the purposes specified."

Mr. Sandford (of New York) said: "The matter seemed to him to be confined to one single point—the *expediency* of making this request of Bishop Andrew. He presumed that no man would dispute their right to make the request, though they might differ as to the expediency of doing it. In the majority of [Annual] Conferences which compose our Church, if something be not done to remove the evil connected with the superintendency of Bishop Andrew out of the way, they could not possibly avoid convulsions, and the loss of very large numbers of members, and give opportunity to their enemies to exert a destructive influence within the ranks of their community. This was clear and certain, and did not admit of a single doubt; and this he believed to be the firm conviction on the mind of the Conference. It was on this, and on this alone, that he wished to rest the expediency of the measure now proposed."

Dr. Winans (of Mississippi) was the first speaker on the Southern side; a striking figure—tall and raw-boned. The veins of his stringy neck might be seen, swollen with earnestness, for he spoke in Italics and wore no cravat. His limp shirt-collar lay around, his clothes were baggy, and his shoes tied with strings; but his eye was bloodshot with intensity, and his head a magnificent dome of thought. Exact, logical, forcible, he had become known in the radical controversy of 1824, as unsurpassed in debate. Other elements besides ecclesiastical entered into *this* question, and he spoke in "the calmness of despair:"

Well, he was a slave-holder in 1840, exposed to the malediction of the North, and just as unfit for the general superintendency as in January, 1844. And what harm was there in marrying a woman who had been pronounced by one of the most venerated of our ministers to be as fit a lady for a bishop's wife as he ever saw? What evil had he done by becoming a slave-holder further by that marriage, when he was already a slave-holder beyond control? What had he done by that marriage to prejudice his case? Just nothing at all, for he was already a slave-holder by immutable necessity. In forming a matrimonial alliance, in seeking one who was to become the mother of his children and the companion of his declining years, he had married a pious and estimable lady, and that is the whole matter; and yet he is advised to leave the superintendency on this ground.

What has he done by executing the deed of trust? What did he do to alter

the position of the slaves? Did he bring upon them any consequences prejudicial to them? Did he incur any obligation to deprive that lady of her property because she had given him her hand? Why, the position will be this: that James O. Andrew must cease to be a bishop because he has married a lady; for he has done these negroes no harm by his momentary possession of them.

But, sir, the main point relied upon in this matter is the expediency of the course contemplated. Expediency! Or, in other words, such a state of things has been gotten up in the North and in the West as renders it necessary for Bishop Andrew to retire from the office of the superintendency if we would preserve the union of the Church. Sir, I will meet this by another argument on expediency: by the vote contemplated by this body and solicited by this resolution, you render it expedient—nay, more, you render it indispensable; nay, more, you render it uncontrollably necessary—that a large portion of the Church (and, permit me to add, a portion always conformed in their views and practices to the Discipline), I say that by this vote you render it indispensably, ay uncontrollably, necessary that that portion of the Church should — I dread to pronounce the word, but you understand me. Yes, sir, you create an uncontrollable necessity that there should be a disconnection of that large portion of the Church from your body. If you pass this action in the mildest form in which you can approach the Bishop, you will throw every minister in the South *hors du combat*; you cut us off from all connection with masters and servants, and leave us no option—God is my witness that I speak with all sincerity of purpose toward you—but to be disconnected from your body. If such necessity exists on your part to drive this man from his office, we reassert that this must be the result of your action. We have no will, no choice, in this thing.

Dr. Lovick Pierce (of Georgia), a member of the first delegated General Conference, which met in New York in 1812, said:

Allow me to say, the adoption of the resolution on the ground of expediency is, in the very nature of the case, to invert the established order of the New Testament. In the difficulties which arose in the Church in the days of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, he said, in reference to this point, "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient." Shall we ask Bishop Andrew to pay this tribute to expediency? Why, if it were lawful to demand it, and the yielding of it would produce such disastrous results as must be produced, it would be inexpedient for this body of God-fearing ministers to make any such demand. To the law and to the testimony I feel myself bound closely to adhere. Of all notions that were ever defended before a body of Christian ministers, the notion of asking an act of this sort on the ground of expediency, when it is as inexpedient for one portion of a united body of Christians to do this as it is expedient for the other that it should be done, is to me the most fearful mockery of sound logic. Do that which is inexpedient for us, because for you it is expedient! Never, while the heavens are above the earth, let that be recorded on the journals of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church! Do you ask us how this matter is to be met? It is to be met by the conservative principle and the compromise laws of this book of Discipline. Show your people that Bishop Andrew has violated any one of the established rules and regulations of this Church, and you put yourselves in the right, and us in the wrong.

Mr. Coleman (of Troy) "would give his vote in favor of the resolution, but would not like to be considered an enemy of his Southern brethren. He had opposed abolitionism from the commencement. He, in connection with other Northern brethren, had had to fight the battles of their Southern brethren. He had expected a most peaceful Conference, supposing as he did that the fire-brands had left their ranks last year. The Southern brethren knew little of the labors of the Northern men to secure their comfort and safety. Give them a slave-holding bishop, and they make the whole of the North a magazine of gunpowder, and the bishop a fire-brand in the midst."

Mr. Stringfield (of Holston) argued: "It is inexpedient that Bishop Andrew should resign. If the Bishop be shuffled out of office, some one must be elected to fill his place, and such a one, whoever he may be, will meet with as little favor in the South as Bishop Andrew would, with all his disabilities, in the North."

Mr. Spencer (of Pittsburg) spoke to the point: "We hear much concerning the constitution. The word 'constitutional' is repeated again and again. Here I am at a loss. I cannot tell what brethren mean. I suppose the constitution of our Church to be embodied in our Articles of Religion, our Restrictive Rules, and our General Rules. But where is it said in these that a slave-holding Bishop must remain in office despite the General Conference? or that no rule can be made to touch such a case? Nowhere. Then is it not plain that these are high-sounding words used without meaning? But, sir, much is said of expediency. Well, let us look at expediency. It is alleged that it would be a dreadful thing to pass the resolution before us, as a matter of expediency. This is a grave subject. But is not expediency at the foundation of many grave and important subjects? Mr. President, how did you and your colleagues get into the episcopal office? Expediency put you there, expediency keeps you there, and when expediency requires it you shall be removed from your seats—yes, every one of you. Expediency is the foundation of our episcopacy. Nay, more—it is the very basis of Methodism. Bishop Andrew is a bishop of the whole Methodist Episcopal Church, and is in duty bound to go to any part of it that its interests may require. If he cannot get rid of slavery where he is, let him go where he can."

Dr. Bangs (of New York) said: "Now, the doctrine of expediency has been referred to. Let me give you one item of expediency that the Apostle Paul practiced: 'If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend;' and if Bishop Andrew had practiced that kind of expediency we should not have had the present difficulty."

Mr. Cass: "The New Hampshire Conference, which I in part represent, has solemnly protested against having a slave-holder for a bishop. And thousands of our members have also sent up memorials to this effect. Sir, I tell you that, in my opinion, a slave-holder cannot sit in the episcopal chair in an Annual Conference in New England; and if Bishop Andrew holds his office, there will be large secessions, or whole Conferences will leave. If this Conference does any thing less than to declare slavery is a moral evil, we stand on a volcano at the North."

Dr. Green (of Tennessee): "It has been asked, Mr. President, what harm it would do to us in the South. Well, let me tell you what I think the effect will be. Suppose Bishop Andrew be deposed, and we from the South tamely submit—how could I return to my work and put my head out of the top of a pulpit and attempt to preach? If Bishop Andrew be deposed, and the South were to submit—that is, the preachers in the South—to such an unjust and extrajudicial proceeding, it would disable the preachers in such a manner that we could not serve our people, and it is very certain that those who deposed him could never supply our place. There are difficulties for the North, and, as far as I can learn, I am willing to give them every advantage without destroying the South. If this Conference were to rescind the 'Few resolution,' we could stand that; and the decision in the Baltimore case will not destroy us quite; and I suppose when we shall come to the election of bishops, that they (having the majority) will select brethren from the non-slaveholding Conferences. Is that not enough to intrench them from the attacks of abolition? I should think so. It is no small matter with the South that none of our Southern preachers can be elected a bishop. Yet we will not fall out with you because you dare not elect a brother from the South, but we will never submit to the doctrine that it shall not be done."

The original motion was earnestly discussed for a part of two days; but in the weakness of its long, rambling historical preamble, as well as on its own merits, it seemed not to meet the exigency: then J. B. Finley and J. M. Trimble, of the Ohio Conference, offered a substitute:

Whereas the Discipline of our Church forbids the doing any thing calculated to destroy our itinerant general superintendency; and whereas Bishop Andrew has become connected with slavery by marriage and otherwise; and this act having drawn after it circumstances which, in the estimation of the General Conference, will greatly embarrass the exercise of his office as an itinerant General Superintendent, if not in some places entirely prevent it: therefore,

Resolved, That it is the sense of this General Conference that he desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains.

The debate was renewed upon this slightly altered presentation of the case. Of the numerous and excellent speeches we may only quote enough to indicate the drift of plea and argument. Let us hear first, and at greater length than we can afford to others, the eloquent man who spoke for both sides—Dr. Olin:

If there ever was a question beset with great practical difficulties, surely it is that under which we now groan. Yet our powers are so great as to allow us to make some provision against them, and to some extent at least meet the wants of the Church in this great emergency. We may do much, and we may make many arrangements in regard to the episcopacy; but our powers are still limited and restricted in two things. We cannot do away with the episcopacy; we cannot infringe upon its character as a general superintendency. I believe we are all prepared to recognize the right of Southern brethren to hold slaves under the provisions of the Discipline. We shall acknowledge and guarantee the entire of the privileges and immunities of all parties in the Church. I here declare that if a remedy should be proposed that would trench on the constitutional claims of Southern ministers, I would not, to save the Church from any possible calamity, violate this great charter of our rights. I am glad of the opportunity of saying that no man who is a Methodist, and deserves a place among us, can call in question here any rights secured by our charter. I do not say that he may not be a very honest or a very pious man who doubts the compatibility of slave-holding on the conditions of the Discipline, with the ministerial office; but in this he is not a Methodist. He may be a very good man, but a very bad Methodist; and if such a man doubts if the Church will reform, or is too impatient of delay, let him—as I would in his place—do as our friends in New England did last year, go to some other Church, or set up one for himself.

Not only is holding slaves, on the conditions and under the restrictions of the Discipline, no disqualification for the ministerial office, but I will go a little farther and say that slave-holding is not constitutionally a forfeiture of a man's right, if he may be said to have one, to the office of a bishop. The Church, spread out through all the land, will always determine for itself what are disqual-

ifications and what are not, and it has a perfect right to determine whether slave holding, or abolitionism, or any other fact, shall be taken into consideration in its elections.

These are my principles. I have never doubted with regard to them. I will add that I can never give a vote which does violence to my sentiments in regard to the religious aspect of the subject. I here declare that if ever I saw the graces of the Christian ministry displayed, or its virtues developed, it has been among slave-holders. I wish here to divest myself of what, to some, may seem an advantage that does not belong to me. I will not conceal—I avow that I was a slave-holder and a minister at the South, and I never dreamed that my right to the ministry was questionable, or that in the sight of God I was less fitted to preach the gospel on that account. And if the state of my health had not driven me away from that region, I should probably have been a slave-holder to this day. In this day of reform and manifold suggestions I go farther, and say that, if by a vote of this General Conference you might call in question the right of our Southern brethren to the ministry, and make their claim to the sacred office dependent on their giving immediate freedom to their slaves, I do not think that that would be a blessing to the slaves or to the Church. I do not believe the slave fares worse for having a Christian master, and I think the preachers may have more of public confidence on our present plan. I know these opinions may by some be regarded as unsound; and I make them not because they have any special value or novelty, but because I profess to speak my sentiments freely.

With regard to the particular case before us, I feel constrained to make one or two remarks. If ever there was a man worthy to fill the episcopal office by his disinterestedness, his love of the Church, his ardent, melting sympathy for all the interests of humanity, but above all for his uncompromising and unreserved advocacy of the interest of the slave—if these are qualifications for the office of a bishop, then James O. Andrew is preëminently fitted to hold that office. I know him well. He was the friend of my youth; and although by his experience and his position fitted to be a father, yet he made me a brother, and no man has more fully shared my sympathies, or more intimately known my heart, for these twenty years. His house has been my home, on his bed have I lain in sickness, and he, with his sainted wife now in heaven, has been my comforter and nurse. No question under heaven could have presented itself so painfully oppressive to my feelings as the one now before us. If I had a hundred votes, and Bishop Andrew were not pressed by the difficulties which now rest upon him, without any wrong intention on his part, I am sure, he is the man to whom I would give them all. I know no man who has been so bold an advocate for the interest of the slaves; and when I have been constrained to refrain from saying what perhaps I should have said, I have heard him at camp-meetings, and on other public occasions, call fearlessly on masters to see to the spiritual and temporal interests of their slaves as a high Christian duty. Excepting one honored brother, whose name will hereafter be recorded as one of the greatest benefactors of the African race, I know of no man who has done so much for the slave as Bishop Andrew.

It will be readily inferred, from what I have said, that if we cannot act without calling in question the rights of the Southern brethren, we had better, in my opinion, not act at all; for I believe it would be better to submit to the greatest calamities than infringe upon our own constitution. Yet it seems to me that we

are not shut up to such a disastrous course, and that we may so dispose of this case as to escape both these difficulties. We cannot punish. I would not vote for any resolution that would even censure; and yet, with the powers that confessedly belong to the General Conference, I trust some measure may be adopted that may greatly palliate and diminish, if it cannot wholly avert, the dangers that threaten us. The substitute now proposed I regard as such a measure. In it this General Conference expresses its wish and will that, under existing circumstances—meaning by that word not merely the fact that Bishop Andrew has become a slaveholder, but the state of the Church, the sentiments that prevail—the excitement, and the deep feeling of the people on the subject; feeling, it may be, which disqualifies them for calm, dispassionate views in the premises; that under these circumstances, it is the wish and the will of the brethren of this Conference that Bishop Andrew, against whom we bring no charge, on whose fair character we fix no reproach, should, for the present, refrain from the exercise of his episcopal functions. This resolution proposes no punishment; it does not censure. It expresses no opinion of the Bishop's conduct. It only seeks to avert disastrous results by the exercise of the conservative, of the self-preserving powers of this Conference.

I know the difficulties of the South. I know the excitement that is likely to prevail among the people there. Yet allowing our worst fears all to be realized, the South will have this advantage over us—the Southern Conferences are likely, in any event, to harmonize among themselves; they will form a compact body. In our Northern Conferences this will be impossible in the present state of things. They cannot bring their whole people to act together on one common ground. Stations and circuits will be so weakened and broken as in many instances to be unable to sustain their ministry. I speak on this point in accordance with the conviction of my own judgment, after having traveled three thousand miles through the New England and New York Conferences, that if some action is not had on this subject calculated to hold out hope—to impart a measure of satisfaction to the people—there will be distractions and divisions ruinous to souls, and fatal to the permanent interests of the Church.

I feel, sir, that if this great difficulty shall result in separation from our Southern brethren, we lose not our right-hand merely, but our very heart's blood. Over such an event I should not cease to pour out my prayers and tears as over a grievous and unmitigated calamity. It was in that part of our Zion that God, for Christ's sake, converted my soul. There I first entered on the Christian ministry. From thence came the beloved, honored brethren who now surround me, with whom and among whom I have labored and suffered and rejoiced, and seen the doings of the right-hand of the Son of God. If the day shall come when we must be separated by lines of demarkation, I shall yet think often of those beyond with the kindest, warmest feelings of an honest Christian heart. But, sir, I will yet trust that we may put far off this evil day. If we can pass such a measure as will shield our principles from all infringement; if we can send forth such a measure as will neither injure nor justly offend the South, as shall neither censure nor dishonor Bishop Andrew, and yet shall meet the pressing wants of the Church, and above all, if Almighty God shall be pleased to help by pouring out his Spirit upon us, we may yet avoid the rock on which we now seem but too likely to split.

A remarkable speech was that by Dr. Hamline, of Ohio—deftly dovetailed and eloquently spoken; his opponents found it no easy task to nicely unravel, and in detail to answer, the points of this speech, admirable for its literary finish and temper.* He admitted that the argument from “expediency” was out of place if the act was unconstitutional; it was never expedient to violate law. He considered this a *mandamus* measure. It wrought a suspension or deposition for “improper conduct;” “a summary removal from office,” not from the ministry, until the cause was removed. The General Conference, according to his view, beyond certain restrictions, few and simple, has supreme legislative, judicial, and executive power. They could not “do away episcopacy”—one of the Restrictive Rules forbids that; but they could do as they pleased with an *episcopos*. A pastor, or presiding elder, or steward, or class-leader, may be removed from a higher to a lower office, or from office altogether, by a superior, without notice, trial, or cause assigned. All ranks of officers are subjected to summary removals from office for any thing unfitting for that office; so a bishop may be deposed from office summarily, and for improprieties which, if even innocent in themselves, hinder his usefulness. No statutory law was needed for this; and if any statutory law stood in their way, they could set it aside—such was their supremacy.

Without entering into the details of this argument, Drs. Smith and Winans struck at the substance of it as utterly subversive of the rights of the minority, and as nullifying one of the coördinate branches of the Church government. A General Conference, acting in a judicial or other capacity, is bound to proceed by its own laws, and to observe its own statutes, until properly altered; as much so as an inferior judicatory. Whoever claims protection according to those statutory laws is constitutionally entitled to it; otherwise a majority, doing its own will, is an unbearable tyranny. The case under consideration, they maintained, was specifically covered and protected by laws and statutes which had stood since 1816, and been reiterated, and had so kept the peace between the two sections of the Church that the sacredness of a compromise attached to them.

*The analysis is well presented in an able discussion: “The Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844–1846; comprising a thirty years’ history of the relations of the two Methodisms,” by Ed. H. Myers, D.D.; 12mo, pages 216.

The extreme position on episcopacy which the majority took,* in order to justify a course that was felt to be necessary, is thus met in the protest of the minority, presented after the vote:

As the Methodist Episcopal Church is now organized, and according to its organization since 1784, the episcopacy is a coördinate branch, the executive department proper of the government. A bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church is not a mere creature, is in no prominent sense an officer, of the General Conference. The bishops are, beyond a doubt, an integral constituent part of the General Conference, made such by law and the constitution; and because elected by the General Conference, it does not follow that they are subject to the will of that body, except in conformity with legal right and the provisions of law in the premises. In this sense, and so viewed, they are subject to the General Conference, and this is sufficient limitation of their power, unless the government itself is to be considered irregular and unbalanced in the coördinate relations of its parts. In a sense by no means unimportant the General Conference is as much the creature of the episcopacy as the bishops are the creatures of the General Conference. As executive officers, as well as pastoral overseers, they belong to the Church as such, and not to the General Conference as one of its organs of action merely.

Because bishops are in part constituted by the General Conference, the power of removal does not follow. Episcopacy, even in the Methodist Church, is not a mere appointment to labor. It is an official consecrated station under the protection of law, and can only be dangerous as the law is bad or the Church corrupt. The power to appoint does not necessarily involve the power to remove; and when the appointing power is derivative—as in the case of the General Conference—the power of removal does not accrue at all, unless by consent of the coördinate branches of the government, expressed by law made and provided in the case. When the Legislature of a State—to appeal to analogy for illustration—appoints a judge or senator in Congress, does the judge or senator thereby become the officer or creature of the Legislature, or is he the officer or senatorial representative of the State, of which the Legislature is the mere organ? And does the power of removal follow that of appointment? The answer is negative in both cases, and applies equally to the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who, instead of being the officers and creatures of the General Conference, are *de facto* the officers and servants of the Church; and no right of removal accrues, except in accordance with the provisions of law. But when a bishop is suspended, or informed that it is the wish or will of the General Conference that he cease to perform the functions of bishop, for doing what the law of the same body allows him to do, and of course without incurring the hazard of punishment, or even blame, then the whole procedure becomes an outrage upon justice, as well as upon law.

* Dr. Myers, on the "Disruption," says: "The historical development of our episcopacy will prove that the bishops are not 'creatures' of the General Conference, and consequently mutable functionaries of that body, removable at will, without charge or trial. The Methodist Episcopal Church—much less its General Conference—never created its episcopacy. On the contrary, the episcopacy organized, and gave ecclesiastical vitality to, a number of 'Societies,' and constituted them into the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1788 Mr. Wesley's name was inserted at the head of our Minutes as the fountain of our episcopal office. Methodism did not exist in organic Church-form prior to 1784, and its bishops existed before it, and retained it to that form." (Myers on the Disruption, page 73.)

Before debate closed, Bishop Soule addressed the Conference. As a preliminary, he read a portion of the Episcopal Address of 1840, alluding to similar agitations:

But can we, as ministers of the gospel, and servants of a Master "whose kingdom is not of this world," promote these important objects in any way so truly and permanently as by pursuing the course just pointed out? Can we, at this eventful crisis, render a better service to our country than by laying aside all interference with relations authorized and established by the civil laws, and applying ourselves wholly and faithfully to what specially appertains to our "high and holy calling," to teach and enforce the moral obligations of the gospel, in application to all the duties growing out of the different relations in society? By a diligent devotion to this evangelical employment, with a humble and steadfast reliance upon the aid of Divine influence, the number of "believing masters" and servants may be constantly increased, the kindest sentiments and affections cultivated, domestic burdens lightened, mutual confidence cherished, and the peace and happiness of society be promoted. While, on the other hand, if past history affords us any correct rules of judgment, there is much cause to fear that the influence of our sacred office, if employed in interference with the relation itself, and consequently with the civil institutions of the country, will rather tend to prevent than to accomplish these desirable ends.

"Sir," said he, "I have read this extract that the members of this General Conference who were not present at the last session, and this listening assembly, who may not have heard it before, may understand distinctly the ground on which I, with my colleagues, stand in regard to these questions. The only subject which has awakened my sympathies during this whole discussion is the condition of my suffering brethren of the colored race, and this never fails to do it. No matter where I meet the man of color, whether in the South or in the North, with the amount of liberty he enjoys, the sympathies of my nature are all awakened for him. Could I restore bleeding Africa to freedom, to independence, to the rights—to all the rights—of man, I would most gladly do it. But this I cannot do—you cannot do. And if I cannot burst the bonds of the colored man, I will not strengthen them. If I cannot extend to him all the good I would, I will never shut him out from the benefits which I have it in my power to bestow." He addressed himself to the main point—the ground assumed alike by the supporters of the original resolution and of the substitute:

I wish to say explicitly that if the Superintendents are only to be regarded as the officers of the General Conference, liable to be deposed at will by a simple majority of this body without a form of trial, no obligation existing, growing out of the constitution and laws of the Church, even to assign cause wherefore—ever

thing I have to say hereafter is powerless and falls to the ground. But, strange as it may seem, although I have had the privilege to be a member of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church ever since its present organization; though I was honored with a seat in the convention of ministers which organized it, I have heard for the first time, either on the floor of this Conference, in an Annual Conference, or through the whole of the private membership of the Church, this doctrine advanced; this is the first time I ever heard it. I desire to understand my landmarks as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church—not the Bishop of the General Conference, not the Bishop of any Annual Conference. I thought that the constitution of the Church, the solemn vows of ordination, the parchment which I hold under the signatures of the departed dead—I thought that these defined my landmarks; I thought that these had prescribed my duties. Whether this Conference is to sustain the position on which I have acted, or not, they are very soon to settle in the vote which is before them; I mean, they are to settle this question, whether it is the right of this body to depose a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church—to depose my colleague, to depose me—without a form of trial. See ye to that. Without specification of wrong, and by almost universal acclamation that Bishop Andrew has been unblamable in his Christian character; that he has discharged the duties of his sacred office with integrity, with usefulness, and in good faith—with this declaration before the world, will this Conference occupy this position: that they have power, authority, to depose Bishop Andrew, without a form of trial, without charge, and without being once called on to answer for himself in the premises (what he did say was voluntary)?

Well, brethren, I had understood from the beginning that special provision was made for the trial of a bishop. The constitution has provided that no preacher was to be deprived of the right of trial, and of the right of appeal; but, sir, if I understand the doctrine advanced and vindicated, it is that you may depose a bishop without the form of trial; you may depose him without any obligation to show cause. It seems to me that the Church has made special provision for the trial of the Bishop, for the special reason that he has no appeal. I do not hesitate to say to you that if the relation in which I have been placed to the Methodist Episcopal Church, under solemn vows of ordination, is to stand on the voice of a simple majority of this body, without a form of trial, I have some doubt whether there is the man on this floor who would be willing to stand in my place. You may immolate me, but you cannot immolate me on a Southern altar; you cannot immolate me on a Northern altar; I can only be immolated on the altar of the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. What do I mean by this? I mean—call it a compact, call it compromise, constitution, Discipline, what you will—I mean on the doctrines and provisions of this book, and I consider this as the bond of union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Here, then, I plant my feet, and here I stand. I hold that the General Conference has an indisputable right to arraign at her tribunal every Bishop; to try us there; to find us guilty of any offense with which we are charged on evidence, and to excommunicate—expel us. I am always ready to appear before that body in this regard. I recognize fully their right. But not for myself, not for these men on my right-hand and on my left-hand, but for the Church of God, let me entreat you not to rush upon the resolution which is now before you. Posterity, sir, will review your actions; history will record them.

Bishop Soule's remarks, emphasized by the tone and presence and prestige of the speaker, produced a profound effect on the members. They remembered that at the age of twenty-seven he had drafted the constitution; he had served under it, understood it, loved it. When on a former occasion that instrument was in peril he, more than any other man living, saved it; and now again, in old age, he rose erect to its defense. But times had changed. Priam's dart was hurled with the ancient force, and hit the mark; but a strange foe confronted him. Some who were present have told how the ranks of the majority fell back and were broken; nor did they rally until John P. Durbin took the floor. He argued concerning the episcopacy: "Whence, then, is it derived? Solely, sir, from the suffrages of the General Conference. There, and there only, is the source of episcopal power in our Church. And the same power that conferred the authority can remove it." With that weird power of speech of which he was master, he gathered up and re-presented the pleas already made for the action invoked, and restored the lines of the prosecution. It was a noble and unique contest. For the South stood up the veteran from Maine, backed by the minority, pleading for the constitution; for the North, the son of Kentucky, with the majority at his back.

On May 30, when nearing a vote, the Conference was requested by Bishop Hedding "to hold no afternoon session, and thus allow the Bishops to consult together, with a hope that they might be able to present a plan of adjusting our present difficulties." "The suggestion," says the journal, "was received with general and great cordiality."

May 31, the Bishops submitted a paper containing their plan. Convinced that "disastrous results are the almost inevitable consequences of present action on the question now pending," they unanimously recommend the postponement of further action until the next General Conference, when the mind of the whole Church, ministers and people, can be known. Meantime Bishop Andrew can be fully employed where "his presence and services would be welcome and cordial." The next day was fixed for its consideration, when Bishop Hedding withdrew his name from the paper. He had signed it "because he thought it would be a peace measure, but facts had come to his knowledge since which led him

to believe that such would not be the case." The "facts" were not published until twenty-five years later. Here was the last hope of continued unity. The South supported it to a man, and not a few conservatives of the Middle and Northern Conferences; and all his colleagues stood firmly by it, but Bishop Hedding's unaccountable defection so weakened the measure that a motion to lay it on the table prevailed by a vote of 95 to 84. The Conference soon after came to a vote on Finley's substitute, and it was adopted by 111 yeas to 69 nays. Notice was given of a protest by the minority, which, in a few days, was spread upon the Journal; and this was followed by a "statement of the case," or a reply, by the majority.

June 5th, Dr. Longstreet offered what is known as the "Declaration of the Southern Delegates," which was signed by all the delegates (fifty-one) of the slave-holding Conferences, except one from Texas. This paper reads:

The delegates of the Conferences in the slave-holding States take leave to declare to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church that the continued agitation on the subject of slavery and abolition in a portion of the Church, and the frequent action on that subject in the General Conference, and especially the extrajudicial proceedings against Bishop Andrew, which resulted, on Saturday last, in the virtual suspension of him from his office as Superintendent, must produce a state of things in the South which renders a continuance of the jurisdiction of this General Conference over these Conferences inconsistent with the success of the ministry in the slave-holding States.

The communication was referred to a committee of nine—Robert Paine, Glezen Filmore, Peter Akers, Nathan Bangs, Thomas Crowder, Thomas B. Sargent, William Winans, Leonidas L. Hamline, James Porter.

* In the *Methodist Quarterly Review* (April, 1871) Rev. James Porter, a New England delegate, and one of the actors, gives a history of the affair: "The abolitionists regarded this [the proposed council of Bishops] as a most alarming measure. Accordingly, the delegates of the New England Conferences were immediately called together, and after due deliberation unanimously signed a paper declaring in substance that it was their solemn conviction that if Bishop Andrew should be left by the General Conference in the exercise of episcopal functions, it would break up most of the New England Conferences; and that the only way to be holden together would be to secede in a body, and invite Bishop Hedding to preside over them." He could not be seen and informed of this action before the Bishops met; and as the threatening secessionists were afraid (so they say) to call him out of the council—believing that it could be construed and used in a way to defeat their object—he could not be dissuaded from signing the recommendation offered on the following day; but they interviewed him in time to defeat it.

On motion of J. B. McFerrin (of Tennessee), seconded by a member of the Troy Conference—"Resolved, That the committee appointed to take into consideration the communication of the delegates from the Southern Conferences be instructed, provided they cannot in their judgment devise a plan for an amicable adjustment of the difficulties now existing in the Church on the subject of slavery, to devise, if possible, a constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the Church."

The Plan of Separation, as it is called, was adopted June 8th. Robert Paine, chairman of the select committee of nine having reported it, Dr. Elliot (of Cincinnati) moved its adoption:

He had had the opportunity of examining it, and had done so carefully. He believed it would insure the purposes designed, and would be for the best interests of the Church. It was his firm opinion that this was a proper course for them to pursue, in conformity with the Scriptures and the best analogies they could collect from the ancient Churches, as well as from the best organized modern Churches. All history did not furnish an example of so large a body of Christians remaining in such close and unbroken connection as the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is now found necessary to separate this large body, for it was becoming unwieldy. He referred to the Churches at Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, which, though they continued as one, were at least as distinct as the Methodist Episcopal Church would be if the suggested separation took place. The Church of England was one under the Bishops of Canterbury and York, connected and yet distinct. In his own mind it had been for years perfectly clear that to this conclusion they must eventually come. Were the question that now unhappily agitated the body dead and buried, there would be good reason for passing the resolutions contained in that report. As to their representation in that General Conference, one out of twenty was but a meager representation, and to go on as they had done it would soon be one out of thirty. And the body was now too large to do business advantageously. The measure contemplated was not schism, but separation for their mutual convenience and prosperity.

Dr. Bangs explained the composition of the committee, as formed by three from the South, three from the Middle States, and three from the North. "They were also instructed by a resolution of the Conference how to act in the premises; that if they could not adjust the difficulties amicably they were to provide for separation, if they could do so constitutionally; and after two days of close labor, after minute inspection and revision of every sentence, they had presented their report, from which the Conference would see that they had at least obeyed their instructions, and had met the constitutional difficulty by sending round to the Annual Conferences that portion of the report which required their concurrence."

The preamble and first two resolutions are in these words:

Whereas a declaration has been presented to this General Conference, with the signatures of fifty-one delegates of the body, from thirteen Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States, representing that, for various reasons enumerated, the objects and purposes of the Christian ministry and Church organization cannot be successfully accomplished by them under the jurisdiction of this General Conference as now constituted; and whereas, in the event of a separation, a contingency to which the declaration asks attention as not improbable, we esteem it the duty of this General Conference to meet the emergency with Christian kindness and the strictest equity: therefore,

1. *Resolved*, by the delegates of the several Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, That should the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, the following rule shall be observed with regard to the northern boundary of such connection: All the societies, stations, and Conferences, adhering to the Church in the South by a vote of a majority of the members of said societies, stations, and Conferences shall remain under the unmolested pastoral care of the Southern Church; and the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall in nowise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the Church South, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein; it being understood that the ministry of the South reciprocally observe the same rule in relation to stations, societies, and Conferences adhering, by vote of a majority, to the Methodist Episcopal Church; provided, also, that this rule shall apply only to societies, stations, and Conferences bordering on the line of division, and not to interior charges, which shall in all cases be left to the care of that Church within whose territory they are situated.

2. *Resolved*, That ministers, local and traveling, of every grade and office in the Methodist Episcopal Church, may, as they prefer, remain in that Church, or, without blame, attach themselves to the Church, South.

The first resolution was adopted by yeas 135, nays 18; the second by yeas 139, nays 17. It was also provided: "That all the property of the Methodist Episcopal Church in meeting-houses, parsonages, colleges, schools, Conference funds, cemeteries, and of every kind, within the limits of the Southern organization shall be forever free from any claim set up on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, so far as this resolution can be of force in the premises."

The turning over to the proper agents of the Church, South (should one be formed), an equitable share of the common property at New York and Cincinnati, and of the Chartered Fund, was arranged for, and a common right to use all copyrights that had been secured before separation. Commissioners were named, and the order and manner of payment planned; and nothing was left undone that could be foreseen for an equitable settlement and an amicable separation.

Apprehending some legal difficulty in dividing the Book Concern property, which is guarded by a Restrictive Rule, it was formally resolved "that we recommend to all the Annual Conferences, at their first approaching sessions, to authorize a change of the sixth Restrictive Article, so that the full clause shall read thus: They shall not appropriate the produce of the Book Concern, nor of the Chartered Fund, to any purpose other than for the benefit of the traveling, supernumerary, superannuated, and worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children, *and to such other purposes as may be determined upon by the votes of two-thirds of the members of the General Conference.*" This was adopted, yeas 146, nays 10. The change proposed was to add what is above italicized. This resolution, having thus received a two-thirds majority of the General Conference, was already an enacted change of the Restrictive Article, so soon as concurred in by three-fourths of the voters in the Annual Conferences. The final resolution requested the Bishops to lay this resolution before the Annual Conferences as soon as possible.

Two bishops were to be elected, and the last service of the conservative South to the yet undivided Church was rendered here. The elements that united in the choice of Leonidas L. Hamline will readily occur to the reader; but the Southern delegates brought forward and concentrated on Edmund S. Janes. As one of the secretaries of the American Bible Society he had become known to them, and none could know him without perceiving his great worth and abilities. On the last day of this stormy session the ordination took place, presided over by the senior bishop. The journal says: "Brother Hamline was presented by brothers Pickering and Filmore, and Brother Janes by brothers Pierce and Capers."

The South asked for no new law or interpretation of law; their attitude from beginning to end was: "If Bishop Andrew has broken any law, moral or canonical, let him be put on his defense; bring a charge, specification, proof, and make up a verdict accordingly." But it better suited the majority to treat the case by preamble and resolution.

None were more unprepared for the turn things took in the General Conference of 1844 than the person most concerned. First by bequest, and then by inheritance, he had been connected with slavery for years; and his last connection (by marriage)

was the mildest of all. Possibly, in some parts of New England, he thought, there might be a flutter; but Methodists were used to that. How surprised, then, was he to find the North and the South arrayed over the matter! So great and rapid had been the change in the temper of the times. For peace's sake he was ready to resign; but when he saw himself a representative man, and that his brethren must stand or fall with him, resignation was out of the question, and the final issue was joined on his case.

From the gallery of Green Street Church, the redoubtable Orange Scott looked down upon a strange scene—he saw men valiantly fighting his battles who had once fought him. The few original abolitionists in the Conference kept quiet. They had put the laboring oar into the hands of the so-called conservatives, who were succumbing to the so-called spirit of the age.

The time to work apart had come. The situation was unmanageable, and every year, on account of certain growing secular influences, it was becoming worse. For this a large proportion of the Northern delegates were not to be blamed; they had done what they could, but had failed to keep their section of the Church free from the encroachments of “modern abolitionism.” Necessity was upon them. It was a life and death issue, and having a majority they felt they had a right to live. Now, having saved themselves, they were disposed to do all in their power to relieve those who had been driven to the wall, standing on the “Discipline as it is.” The Plan of Separation, as conceived and agreed on, was honorable to both parties; it was a healing measure, a fitting farewell to the fifteenth General Conference of united Episcopal Methodism, and the last.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Louisville Convention—First General Conference—Book Agency—New Hymn-book—Bishops Capers and Paine—Troubles with the Plan in the North—Fraternal Delegate and Business Commissioners—Rejected—Appealing Unto Cæsar—Supreme Court Declares the Plan of Separation Valid, and Enforces it—Southern Methodist Publishing House—Separation—Peace—Prosperity.

AT midnight, June 10th, the General Conference adjourned; next day the Southern delegates met, before leaving for home, and deliberated on what was best to be done. Letters and newspapers received from the South indicated great excitement. To prevent undue haste in action, and to forestall divided counsels, the delegates suggested to their constituents that nothing be done till all the Conferences represented could meet in a general convention, and “submitted” to their “consideration” that May 1, 1845, would be a suitable time, and Louisville, Kentucky, a fit place, for such a convention; and that their delegates—chosen in a certain ratio—be instructed “on the points on which action is contemplated;” the instructions conforming, as far as possible, “to the opinions and wishes of the members of the Church.”

They also issued a brief “Address to the Ministers and Members” of their Conferences, conveying authentic information of the provisional Plan of Separation, under which relief in a regular way could be obtained from Northern jurisdiction, if they judged it necessary. “It affords us pleasure,” they say, “to state that there were those found among the majority who met this proposition with every manifestation of justice and liberality; and should a similar spirit be exhibited by the Annual Conferences in the North,” when an opportunity to manifest justice and liberality is submitted to them by a vote on the Restrictive Article, as provided for in the Plan itself, “there will remain no legal impediment to its peaceful consummation.”

They deprecated all excitement, and advised that the question be approached and disposed of with candor and forbearance.

This wise prevision was of great worth. Southern Methodism, though excited within and pressed upon from without, was kept together and found expression of feeling and purpose in regular methods. Not only Quarterly and Annual Conferences spoke out, but stations and circuits met and considered the matter

Says one who took part in these proceedings, and had opportunity of wide observation: "Those who will take the trouble to read the utterances of these Conferences will find that the history of the world does not offer a parallel to the unanimity of sentiment, thought, and purpose, which they exhibited on a subject of so momentous consequence. Their course was taken reluctantly, sadly, but firmly, for the glory of God."*

May 1, 1845, a convention of delegates from Conferences in the slave-holding States met in Louisville, Kentucky, and continued through twenty days. A Committee on Organization was appointed to canvass the acts of the several Annual Conferences; to consider the propriety and the necessity of a Southern organization, according to the "Plan of Separation;" and also to inquire if any thing had taken place during the year to render it possible to maintain the unity of Methodism under one General Conference jurisdiction, without the ruin of Southern Methodism.

On the 15th of May this committee reported these conclusions: That the General Conference of 1844 gave full and exclusive authority to "the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States" to decide upon the necessity of organizing a separate ecclesiastical Connection in the South; that sixteen such Conferences were here represented; that it is in evidence that the ministry and membership in the South—nearly five hundred thousand—in the proportion of about ninety-five in the hundred, deem a division of jurisdiction indispensable; that unless this is effected, about a million of slaves, now hearing the gospel from our ministers, will be withdrawn from their care; and that, while thus taking their position, the Southern Conferences are ready and most willing to treat with the Northern division of the Church at any time, in view of adjusting the difficulties of this controversy upon terms and principles that may be satisfactory to both. And then these delegates did solemnly declare the jurisdiction hitherto exercised over the Annual Conferences represented in the convention, by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, entirely dissolved; and that said Annual Conferences "are hereby constituted a separate ecclesiastical Connection," based upon the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, "and comprehending the doctrines and entire moral, ecclesiastical, and economical rules and regulations of said

*Dr. Myers, on the Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Discipline, except only in so far as verbal alterations may be necessary to a distinct organization, and to be known by the style and title of the *Methodist Episcopal Church, South.*"

The First General Conference met in Petersburg, May 1, 1846. The body numbered eighty-seven members. On the first day Rev. John Early presided, until the arrival of Bishop Andrew. On the second day the senior Superintendent of American Methodism formally announced his adherence:

PETERSBURG, May 2, 1846

Reverend and Dear Brethren: I consider your body, as now organized, the consummation of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in conformity to the "Plan of Separation," adopted by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1844. It is therefore in strict agreement with the provisions of that body that you are vested with full power to transact all business appropriate to a Methodist General Conference.

I view this organization as having been commenced in the "Declaration" of the delegates of the Conferences in the slave-holding States, made at New York, in 1844; and as having advanced in its several stages in the "Protest," the "Plan of Separation," the appointment of delegates to the Louisville convention, in the action of that body, in the subsequent action of the Annual Conferences, approving the acts of their delegates at the convention, and in the appointment of delegates to this General Conference.

The organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, being thus completed in the organization of the General Conference with a constitutional president, the time has arrived when it is proper for me to announce my position. Sustaining no relation to one Annual Conference which I did not sustain to every other, and considering the General Conference as the proper judicatory to which my communication should be made, I have declined making this announcement until the present time. And now, acting with strict regard to the Plan of Separation, and under a solemn conviction of duty, I formally declare my adherence to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. And if the Conference receive me in my present relation to the Church, I am ready to serve them according to the best of my ability. In conclusion, I indulge the joyful assurance that although separated from our Northern brethren by a distinct Conference jurisdiction, we shall never cease to treat them as "brethren beloved," and cultivate those principles and affections which constitute the essential unity of the Church of Christ.

JOSHUA SOULE.

On motion of Benjamin M. Drake it was unanimously resolved, by a rising vote, that Bishop Soule be received as one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

At first it was resolved to have a Book Concern in two divisions—one in Richmond and one in Louisville; but this arrangement gave place to another better suited to the times: "That an agent be appointed, whose duty it shall be to provide for the

supply of books, by contracting where they can be obtained by him on the best terms; and that he shall cause such books to be deposited at Louisville, Charleston, and Richmond, subject to the orders of the itinerant preachers in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South." John Early was elected Agent, and the editors of the *Christian Advocate* at Charleston, Richmond, and Louisville were made his assistants, and subject to his direction in depository matters. A *Quarterly Review* was ordered to be published at Louisville, Dr. Bascom editor. A constitution for a Church Missionary Society was agreed on, and the Bishops were authorized to enter the foreign field by appointing two missionaries to China.* E. W. Sehon having declined, Edward Stevenson was elected Missionary Secretary. To Thomas O. Summers was assigned the editorship of the proposed Sunday-school paper, and the principal labor of preparing a revised edition of the Hymn-book. It was ordered that three commissioners be appointed in accordance with the "Plan of Separation," to act in concert with the commissioners appointed for the other Church, "concerning our interest in the Book Concern." By ballot H. B. Bascom, A. L. P. Green, and S. A. Latta were elected such commissioners, and they were instructed to notify the commissioners and Book Agents at New York and Cincinnati of their appointment, and of their readiness to settle; and should no settlement be effected before 1848, said commissioners shall have authority "to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to settle and adjust all questions involving property or funds, which may be pending between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; and should the commissioners appointed by this General Conference, after proper effort, fail to effect a settlement as above, then they are authorized to take such measures as may best secure the just and equitable claims of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the property and funds aforesaid."

May 7th, on the second balloting, Dr. William Capers and Dr

*At the next General Conference the Episcopal Address announced the appointment and the arrival out of "the Revs. Charles Taylor, M.D., and Benjamin Jenkins, of the South Carolina Conference, to that empire. On looking over the whole field open to us in that far-off region, it was judged that the city of Shanghai presented the most favorable point at which to commence operations; accordingly, your missionaries were directed to make that their field of labor, till they should be otherwise instructed."

Robert Paine were duly elected bishops, and on May 14 they were ordained by Bishops Soule and Andrew, assisted by Dr. Lovick Pierce and Rev John Early.

The Conference adjourned May 23, but not without taking this action: "*Resolved*, by a rising and unanimous vote, That Dr. Lovick Pierce be, and is hereby, delegated to visit the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, to be held in Pittsburg, May 1, 1848, to tender to that body the Christian regards and fraternal salutations of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

It was suggested by some to expunge or to qualify the old section of the Discipline on slavery, but the Conference was satisfied to reaffirm the deliverances of 1836 and of 1840 as the true and proper exposition of that section. The Pastoral Address congratulates the Church:

The changes in the Discipline, if such they can be called, are as few and unimportant as the fact and circumstance of a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction would permit. No recognized principle of the Methodism of our fathers has been in any way affected by these changes. All the doctrines, duties, and usages—the entire creed and ritual of the Church before the separation, remain without change of any kind. And when we reflect that during no period of its history has Methodism been the result of preëxisting plans and arrangements, but always and everywhere a system of moral agency, within the limits of Scripture authority and precedent, adapting itself, in mere matters of form and modes of operation, to the suggestive force of circumstances and the exigence of the times, it is indeed matter not less of gratitude than surprise that God, in the gracious, and we believe special, providence extended to us, has strangely withheld us from the necessity of greater changes; for they have been fewer in number and less important than those of any General Conference since 1792.

While all was going well in the South, the Northern delegates, on their return, found their constituents divided; some were displeased that the South had been put under the necessity of seeking separation; others, perhaps a larger number, disapproved of the terms of separation agreed on, as too liberal; and both parties, in the end, were offended more or less because the South took advantage of the compact to depart, by departing. When the Conferences acted upon the recommendation to change the sixth Restrictive Rule, a numerical majority, but not three fourths, voted for concurrence. The result is stated thus: For concurrence, Northern Conferences, 1,164; Southern, 971; total, 2,135. For non-concurrence, 1,070.

It cannot be allowed, for a moment, that these 1,070 were actuated by motives of dishonesty. A few, perhaps, repented them of their coöperation in setting up the Plan of Separation, and lost sight of the man "that sweareth to his own hurt and changeth not;" two or three editors, unfortunately occupying influential positions, wrought confusion; the political elements were intensified daily in their opposition to a peaceable adjustment; and the severity with which some of the Southern assemblies reviewed the bearings and doings of Northern Methodism, when declaring in favor of the convention at Louisville, was very irritating. Moreover, the idea got out among some well-meaning but illogical persons that by defeating that article which provided for dividing the Church property, they could defeat the Plan itself, and keep the Church from being divided. At an early day troubles along the border became active: neither side was without fault; and all these things had their influence in shaping opinions out of which grew actions.

The first General Conference of the Northern section of Episcopal Methodism met in Pittsburg, May, 1848. Never was a Church synod made up, and never did one meet, under circumstances less favorable for wise and just deliberations. It was a reactionary body, elected in a revolutionary period. Most of the old members of 1844 were left at home. This General Conference pronounced the division unconstitutional; and because of this, and because of alleged infractions of the compact on the border, and because the change of the Restrictive Rule had not received a three-fourths majority, they formally declared the Plan of Separation "null and void."*

Dr. Lovick Pierce was early at the Conference, and addressed a respectful note to that body, stating his mission—that he was sent to bear to them the Christian salutations of the Church,

* It may be gratifying to Methodists of the present generation to know that there were but few who in 1844 voted for the Plan that in 1848 repudiated it. On the rescinding resolution there were 142 votes—132 ayes, 10 nays. Of the voters 41 were at the Conference of 1844; of the 41 there, 11 had voted against the Plan; of the 30 remaining 5 voted against repudiation; leaving but 25 out of the 132 ayes who repudiated their own action of 1844. If it be said that only those of the Conference of 1844 who were pledged to repudiation were reelected in 1848, it speaks well for the majority of 1844; and while it shows that even good men may sometimes mistake policy for principle, it does not make repudiation righteous. (Myers's *Disruption of the Methodist Episcopal Church*.)

South, and to assure them that it sincerely desired that the two great Wesleyan bodies should maintain at all times a warm and confiding fraternal relation to each other; and that he ardently desired that they, on their part, would accept the offer in the same spirit of brotherly love and kindness.

After two days the reply was: "Whereas there are serious questions and difficulties existing between the two bodies, therefore resolved that while we tender to Rev Dr. Pierce all personal courtesies, and invite him to attend our sessions, this General Conference does not consider it proper at present to enter into fraternal relations with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

Dr. Pierce duly acknowledged the offer of a personal courtesy, but declined it, saying: "Within the bar I can only be known in my official character." And he added: "You will therefore regard this communication as final on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States. But the proposition can be renewed at any time, either now or hereafter, by the Methodist Episcopal Church. And if ever made upon the basis of the Plan of Separation, as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church, South, will cordially entertain the proposition."

The commissioners of the Church, South, reported themselves present "to adjust and settle all matters" pertaining to the division of the Church property and funds. It need hardly be stated how they fared at the hands of a body whose record no candid man, of whatever name or nation, can think on with pleasure.

On a critical occasion St. Paul said, "I appeal unto Cæsar." Nothing else was left Southern Methodists. Suits were brought in the United States Circuit Courts of New York and of Ohio, in 1849, for the *pro rata* property in New York and Cincinnati. In the New York suit, decision was given in favor of the Church, South. The case in Cincinnati went adversely to the Church, South; and it was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, where, on April 25, 1854, by a full bench of eight justices—Judge McLean, a Methodist, who had already expressed his opinion, declining to sit in the case—the judgment of the Ohio Circuit Court was unanimously reversed, and the Plan of Separation was enforced in all of its provisions and particulars.

By this decision the Church, South, held control of the printing establishments in Richmond, Charleston, and Nashville. To them were transferred the debts due from persons residing within the limits of their Annual Conferences, and in addition \$270,000 was paid their agents in cash, the defendants also paying the costs of the suit.

Southern Methodists were less concerned for the pecuniary outcome of this painful lawsuit than for its judicial and moral vindication before the whole world. Party spirit ran high; offenses increased on both sides; and the presses and leaders of the Church, North, busily represented the Church, South, as a schism, a secession; for the former they assumed the title and claim of "the Mother Church," "the Old Church,"* while the latter was represented as unauthorized, illegitimate, having no lot nor part in original Methodism. The pleadings before that highest and impartial civil judicatory—the Supreme Court—covered the whole controversy. The journals of the General Conferences of 1844, 1846, and 1848 were before them, and of the Louisville convention of 1845; the Discipline figured largely before Cæsar; and great lawyers, prompted by Smith and Green on the one side, and by Bangs and Peck on the other, made themselves minutely acquainted with the details and genius of Episcopal Methodist government. They had a patient hearing before a bench renowned in jurisprudence, accustomed to construe contracts, and uncommitted; for the only Methodist among them, a native of Vermont and a citizen of Ohio, stood aloof.

The decision of the Supreme Court, after wading through legal preliminaries, strikes the case thus:

In the year 1844, the traveling preachers, in General Conference assembled, for causes which it is not important particularly to refer to, agreed upon a plan for the division of the Methodist Episcopal Church in case the Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States should deem it necessary; and to the erection of two separate and distinct ecclesiastical organizations.

In the following year the Southern Annual Conferences met in convention, in pursuance of the Plan of Separation, and determined upon a division, and resolved that the Annual Conferences should be constituted into a separate ecclesiastical connection, based upon

*A negro exhorter answered this well enough. He was being chaffed by a zealous presbyter for belonging to a "secession Church," and invited to join the "old Methodist Church." Uncle Joe replied: "Ef I take my maul an' wedge an' split open a tree, anybody can tell which is the biggest half, but who can tell which is the oldest half?" It is to be regretted that the elegant and entertaining pages of Dr. Stevens's *History of Methodism*, written as late as 1867, are disfigured, not to say discredited, by the frequent use of such an expression as "the secession of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to be known by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The division of the Church, as originally constituted, thus became complete; and from this time two separate and distinct organizations have taken the place of the one previously existing.

But the Church, North, argued that the Southern claimants, belonging now to another ecclesiastical organization, had forfeited all right to the property; the division of the Church was made without proper authority; and however worthy and needy members of the Church, South, might be, they came no longer under the description of persons contemplated as beneficiaries when the fund in dispute was founded, and it would be a perversion to give it to them. The court thus disposes of this argument:

This argument, we apprehend, if it proves any thing, proves too much; for if sound, the necessary consequence is that the beneficiaries connected with the Church, North, as well as South, have forfeited their right to the fund. It can no more be affirmed, either in point of fact or of law, that they are traveling preachers in connection with the Methodist Church as originally constituted, since the division, than of those in connection with the Church, South. Their organization covers but about half of the territory embraced within that of the former Church, and includes within it but a little over two-thirds of the traveling preachers. Their General Conference is not the General Conference of the old Church, nor does it represent the interest, or possess territorially the authority, of the same; nor are they the body under whose care this fund was placed by its founders. It may be admitted that, within the restricted limits, the organization and authority are the same as the former Church; but the same is equally true in respect to the Church, South. If the division under the direction of the General Conference has been made without the proper authority, and for that reason the traveling preachers within the Southern division are wrongfully separated from their connection with the Church, and thereby have lost the character of beneficiaries, those within the Northern division are equally wrongfully separated from that connection, as both have been brought into existence by the same authority.

But we do not agree that this division was made without the proper authority. On the contrary, we entertain no doubt but that the General Conference of 1844 was competent to make it; and that each division of the Church, under the separate organization, is just as legitimate, and can claim as high a sanction, ecclesiastical and temporal, as the Methodist Episcopal Church first founded in the United States. The authority which founded that Church in 1784 has divided it, and established two separate and independent organizations, occupying the place of the old one.

The most humiliating feature in all this affair was the dispute about property. The South voted unanimously for concurrence; the lack of votes was in Northern and Western Conferences. To the deep chagrin of multitudes of right-minded Methodists everywhere, this hitch was made, and the Northern Agents found themselves, as they believed, without authority to settle. It

was an awkward fix of their own procuring: the delay gave rise to bad blood; excuse, however, can be found for it: but impartial history will find it hard to excuse the dominant party for trying to take advantage of their own blunder. Instead of seeking an enabling act to promote an equitable settlement with their Southern brethren, they sought to disfranchise and dishonor them, because the Restrictive Rule had not been changed. The court cut that knot, and found a way to do justice:

It has also been urged, on the part of the defendants, that the division of the Church, according to the Plan of Separation, was made to depend not only upon the determination of the Southern Annual Conferences, but also upon the consent of the Annual Conferences North, as well as South, to a change of the sixth Restrictive Article; and as this was refused, the division which took place was unauthorized. But this is a misapprehension. The change of this Article was not made a condition of the division. That depended alone upon the decision of the Southern Conferences. The division of the Methodist Episcopal Church having thus taken place in pursuance of the proper authority, it carried with it, as matter of law, a division of the common property belonging to the ecclesiastical organization, and especially of the property in this Book Concern, which belonged to the traveling preachers.

It has been argued, however, that according to the Plan of Separation, the division of the property in this Book Concern was made to depend upon the vote of the Annual Conferences to change the sixth Restrictive Article, and that, whatever might be the legal effect of the division of the Church upon the common property otherwise, this stipulation controls it, and prevents a division until the consent is obtained.

We do not so understand the Plan of Separation. It admits the right of the Church, South, to its share of the common property, in case of a separation, and provides for a partition of it among the two divisions, upon just and equitable principles; but regarding the sixth Restrictive Article as a limitation upon the power of the General Conference, as it respected a division of the property in the Book Concern, provision is made to obtain a removal of it. The removal of this limitation is not a condition to the right of the Church, South, to its share of the property, but is a step taken in order to enable the General Conference to complete the partition of the property.

We will simply add that, as a division of the common property followed, as matter of law, a division of the Church organization, nothing short of an agreement or stipulation of the Church, South, to give up their share of it, could preclude the assertion of their right; and it is quite clear no such agreement or stipulation is to be found in the Plan of Separation.

And the judges thus end the matter: "Without pursuing the case any farther our conclusion is, that the complainants, and those they represent, are entitled to their share of the property in this Book Concern; and the proper decree will be entered to carry this decision into effect."

Funds in hand, Southern Methodists at the first opportunity (1854) set up a Publishing House in Nashville. Changes and war have been against it, but it has done an incalculable amount of good in disseminating Christian literature, and shows a sound and prosperous condition in the centenary year. Northern Methodists survived the settlement and, after a brief season of contraction, expanded their Book Concern operations into dimensions that rival the great secular establishments of the country. John Dickins's little Book Room, the contents of which might have been hauled in a cart, has been like the grain of mustard-seed.

Both sections of the Church prospered. In 1846 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had 455,217 members; in 1860, this number had grown, with proportionate church accommodations, to 749,068. In the same period the Methodist Episcopal Church* had grown from 644,229 members to 988,523. The per cent. of annual increase was very nearly the same in each.

These are the words of the wise and good Bishop Morris: "If the Plan of Separation had been carried out in good faith and Christian feeling on both sides, it would scarcely have been felt any more than the division of an Annual Conference."

*This term is used henceforth not as designating the original Church of that name, for such it is not; but the portion of it not included in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Each, in its sphere, is the "old Church."

CHAPTER XLV

California—Conferences on the Pacific Coast—Foreign Missions—China—General Conference of 1850—Bishop Bascom—His Death: Bishops Pierce, Fava-
naugh, and Early—Education—The Old Controversy Transferred to the North:
How it Ended—Saved by War from Impending Disaster.

THE acquisition of California from Mexico, followed soon by the discovery of gold on the Pacific slope, produced an abnormal movement of population westward; it might be called the American crusades. People poured across the plains, a weary and dusty march of many months; or they took the longer and quicker route by Panama and Chagres, seeking the golden coast. This sudden occupation of California and Oregon led to the survey and more gradual occupation of all the region lying between the Mississippi and the farthest West, from Montana down to Arizona. Here was a field for home missions, and Methodism was expected to keep up with the emigrants. The rude, and often dangerous, circumstances of the missionary perpetuated the heroic spirit of the itinerancy. In February, 1850, Rev. Dr. Boring, of Georgia, superintendent of the mission, accompanied by two assistants, sailed for San Francisco, by way of Panama, well supplied with standard Methodist and Sunday-school publications and with copies of the Bible furnished by the American Bible Society.* They landed safely and proceeded to work without delay. Their progress exceeded their own expectations. The difficulty they had to encounter lay in the want of men. Circuits were formed and members enrolled and classed; but in the absence of pastors to care for it, much favorably projected work fell through; for nothing stood still in that day. By and by the Churches moved up to this sudden demand, and California was supplied with preachers as well as gold-diggers. In April, 1852, the Pacific Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South,

*A. M. Wynn, of Georgia, and D. W. Pollock, of Missouri: followed (1852) by J. C. Simmons, Blythe, Evans, Davies, Pendergrast, Saunders, Lockley, and Coxe. In 1855 went out Fitzgerald, Fisher, Stewart, Moore, Fulton, Ellis, and others from the Southern States. Many of these, after longer or shorter service, returned; others remained and, with an efficient ministry raised up there, helped to claim that land for Christ. The Hon. and Rev. D. O. Shattuck went out early from Louisiana, and has been eminently serviceable to the cause.

was organized in San Francisco. The year following Bishop Soule presided over the Conference, when five hundred and thirty-seven members were reported, and \$1,200 missionary money was collected.* The statistics of 1883 show seventy traveling preachers, forty-seven local, four thousand four hundred and eighty white, eight colored, and seven Indian members, with Pacific College located at Santa Rosa.

At a later date the almost limitless territory north of California was organized into the Columbia Conference, including Oregon, and Idaho and Washington Territories, with their college at Corvallis. That eminent field-preacher, Orceneth Fisher, led the way into Oregon, after exercising a powerful and evangelical ministry in the North-west and then in Texas. And later still the Los Angeles Conference was organized, one district of which includes Arizona. The two last are largely missionary fields, and the distances and labors and sacrifices encountered in serving them call to mind the scenes of Church-planting when "the West" lay between the Alleghany Range and the Mississippi River.

When the division took place the Methodism of America had no representative in any foreign field except Liberia and Buenos Ayres. The great masses of heathenism "in the regions beyond" lay untouched, and no effort had been made by Episcopal Methodists to approach them. Both divisions of the Church felt the pressure of the demand about the same time. The Northern branch sent Rev Messrs. White and Collins, who reached Foo Chow in August, 1847. In September, 1848, Dr. Charles Taylor, of the Southern branch, landed at Shanghai. He was soon joined by Rev. Benjamin Jenkins, who for several years had been connected with the publication of the *Christian Advocate* at Charleston. It was supposed that being a practical printer, and having linguistic talent, he would be serviceable to the projected mission. Shanghai was regarded as the most eligible of all the consular ports in China. It was the emporium of European and American trade with the North of China, the out-port of the central provinces, and port of entry for Tartary. The population of the city was reckoned at over two hundred thousand, and that of the province to which it belonged was esti-

* Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, by A. W. Wilson, D D.: 12mo, pages 144: 1882.

mated at thirty-five million. It was within easy reach of Su-chow, the most cultivated city in the province, and in constant communication with a dense population in villages, cities, and country-places, stretching away into the interior.

The missionaries got into quarters, struggled with the difficulties of the language, and in January, 1850, the first public service was held by Dr. Taylor. Into their small chapel the people, as they passed by, were invited to enter and hear the "Jesus doctrine." The first fruit of their labors is reported by Mr. Jenkins, in 1851. The man who served him as teacher applied for Christian baptism about six months after his engagement commenced. He conducted himself with great propriety, and made such progress in Christian knowledge that in January, 1852, he was baptized, together with his wife. Liew, as his name was called, might be taken as a kind of first-fruits, a sample of what is possible among the people who make up a quarter of the human race. His mental force, his moral worth, and his power of speech were reckoned at a high rate; and his death, after useful service as a preacher, was a comfortable, a triumphant demonstration of the power of the gospel to save. None superior to this first convert has since appeared in the native Church.

Reënforcements of able and consecrated men from time to time followed, and though sad inroads were made upon the mission families by the climate, a remnant always remained to hold the ground.* The returning missionaries largely compensated for their loss abroad by scattering information at home, and keeping alive the public interest. The missionaries planned wisely, for preaching and teaching, for itinerating in the regions accessible, and distributing the printed truth. Their schools—including girls'—were prosecuted with diligence and patience, in which their wives sometimes excelled as teachers.

In 1858 a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and China which fell out to the furtherance of the gospel. It opened the whole empire to missionaries, and guaranteed their protec-

* W. G. E. Cunyngham, of Holston, sailed from New York in May, and arrived in Shanghai in October, 1852. The following year three were added to the mission—D. C. Kelley, of Tennessee; J. L. Belton, of Alabama; and J. W. Lambuth, of Mississippi. In December, 1859, Young J. Allen, of Georgia, and M. L. Wood, of North Carolina, sailed from New York for Shanghai. All these were accompanied by their families. (See Bishop A. W. Wilson's *History of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*.)

tion; and the United States Government also entered into a treaty which secured to our citizens all the privileges and rights granted to those of any other nation. Thus the great obstacle to the propagation of the gospel in China was finally taken out of the way, and henceforth there was nothing to contend with but the evil incident to the heathen conditions of human nature.

The second General Conference met in St. Louis, May, 1850 and continued in session but two weeks, on account of the presence of cholera in the city. One member died, and the sick-list was so large that, in an important election, balloting by proxy was allowed. The report of Dr. Pierce, fraternal delegate, was received and approved; and the three commissioners also gave information of the progress of their business, and were approved. The Joint Board of Finance was recommended by this Conference; subsequently, it became law. It provides that an equal number of traveling preachers and laymen—one from every district—take charge of the money matters of each Annual Conference; make estimates and assessments for the coming year; and distribute funds collected for the relief of superannuated preachers and for widows and orphans.

The *Quarterly Review* was removed to Richmond, and D. S. Doggett appointed editor; E. W. Sehon, Missionary Secretary; John Early was continued Book Agent; and Thomas O. Summers was appointed Book Editor and editor of *Sunday-school Journal*. Henry B. Bascom was elected Bishop, and ordained May 12th.* The journal says: "The venerable senior superintendent, Bishop Soule, who was brought to the church in great feebleness, took the lead in the laying on of hands, though scarcely able to pronounce the formula."

The career of Henry B. Bascom as preacher and educator and author was brilliant; and as Bishop, brief. He was born in Western New York, 1796.† His mother was of German extraction—the Bidleman family. He says: "I have known few women who possessed a larger share of the poetry of feeling." The son of poor parents, his heritage was toil and privation. His school advantages ended in his twelfth year, and he was boring log-

* On first ballot 100 voted. For Henry B. Bascom, 47; J. Boyle, 14; George F. Pierce, 14; John Early, 10; Winans, 8. On second ballot Bascom received 59.

† Within two miles of Chehocton village, on the New York and Erie Railroad. (Henkle's Life of Bascom.)

pumps to make a living and help his parents, at fifteen. He was converted the year before, and walked ten miles to the meeting at which he joined the Church. Still farther westward the family make their home; and while boring logs in Ohio, Bascom held prayer-meetings and began to preach. In 1813 he was admitted into the traveling connection, at Steubenville, mounted on a horse which he had paid for by splitting rails for a neighbor. William McMahon took charge of him on the way to Conference, shared his room with him, loved him always, and thus described him: "Well grown, of fine appearance, very pious, sprightly and intelligent for a lad of his years and limited opportunities."

Hard circuits were his portion and probation for a long time. Tall and well-proportioned, a model of manly dignity and beauty, he could not help looking well, even in coarse apparel; and the brethren thought him proud. He hardly deserved to be praised for magnanimity, since by nature he was incapable of meanness. Henry Clay procured, unknown to him, his election as chaplain to Congress. Though the usual defects of self-education, however thorough, showed themselves in his style, they were as motes in the sunbeam. No pulpit orator in his day had an equal fame. At the General Conference of 1840 he preached, and one who could well appreciate the occasion gave this account:

He preached in the Light Street Church to as dense a throng as could crowd into the spacious building—the adjoining street being filled with people who could not find entrance into the church. His text was, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." The sermon embraced all the cardinal elements of the Christian system, set forth in a light so vivid, under illustrations so overpoweringly magnificent, and with a vehemence so rushing and pauseless as to hold the vast audience spell-bound. At particular passages, several of which we distinctly remember, the effect was awful. The sentences came like the sharp, zigzag lightning; the tones of the preacher's voice were like articulate thunder. The hearer cowered under the weight of thought piled on thought, and was driven almost beside himself by the rapid whirl of dazzling imagery. The sermon, artistically considered, had the strange fault of being too great. It covered too vast a field of thought, it was marred by excess of grandeur. You were bewildered by the quick succession of vivid pictures thrown off, as by the turn of a grand kaleidoscope. The impassioned fervor of the preacher seemed too self-consuming.*

Bascom was never heard in deliberative assemblies; his state-craft did not affect the chopping seas of debate. But it was a popular error that his superiority lay in speaking only. His ecclesiastical state papers are of the very first rank. He wrote the

* Dr. Wightman (editor) in *Southern Christian Advocate*.

Protest; as chairman of the Committee of Thirty, on organization, in the Louisville convention, he was the author of that masterly report; and he wrote other papers in the controversy, which are models of mental grasp and perspicuity and force. Pressed by his necessities, he consented to publish a volume of sermons. Editions amounting to twenty thousand copies were sold. Heavy expenses and a narrow income pressed sorely upon Bascom's spirit all his days; yet he refused the offers, many and tempting, that would turn him away from a simple Methodist preacher's lot. His devotion to his father in sickness and poverty was beautiful. The time that was saved in the vacations of college, and from the eager demands of admiring congregations who often forgot to meet his expenses, was spent in the cabin a few miles from the Ohio, opposite Maysville, ministering to the decrepit parent's infirmities. He cut and hauled wood from the forest to warm the household; and to make himself a wakeful nurse, he slept on a bench, with a block of wood for his pillow. He was with his father at his death, which he described to a friend. Having received the sacrament at his son's hand, "he enjoyed it greatly, thanking God for the precious privilege. 'Now, my son, I am ready to depart and be with Christ. But your mother (step-mother) and the children—will you take care of them?' 'Father,' said I, 'do you doubt it?' 'No, Henry, no; I should not have asked you—I know you will. But one thing more—bury me beside your mother. And do you recollect that she was buried by moonlight, in consequence of a detention at the house?' 'I recollect it well,' said I. 'The moon gives light now, Henry, does it not?' he continued. I answered affirmatively. 'Well then, bury me by moonlight, beside your mother.' On being assured that it should be done as he wished, an ineffable light spread over his countenance, and whispering his farewell to the family, he calmly fell asleep in Jesus."

He preached his own ordination sermon, on the "Cross of Christ," and descending from the pulpit took vows from which Heaven soon released him. The first and only Conference he presided over was the St. Louis, which met at Independence, July 10, 1850. The weather was warm; the river was low, and cholera prevailed through its valley. After much detention he reached the Conference on Saturday. For several years he had been reading his sermons, but now, more careful for his example

than his reputation, he threw aside manuscripts, and on Sunday preached in a grove adjoining the city to an immense multitude. "He disappointed us, but most agreeably," reported a hearer. "Without a single note he gave a most clear and plain exposition of the sacred text, adapted to the comprehension of every mind." In the last days of July he returned to St. Louis sick; preached two hours on Sunday, and "greatly exhausted himself." On his way home he reached Louisville August 2, but was unable to proceed to Lexington; and there, in the house of his old and intimate friend, Dr. Stevenson, he died peacefully, September 8th, with this testimony: "All my trust and confidence is in Almighty Goodness, as revealed in the cross of Christ."

The bequest (in 1850) of Rev. Benjamin Wofford, of South Carolina, of \$100,000, for the purpose of "establishing and endowing a college for literary, classical, and scientific education," under the control of the South Carolina Conference, marked an era. It was the largest personal offering that had been made to the Church by any Methodist in America, at that date. The college at Spartanburg, with a well-selected corps of instructors, was opened in 1854, and bears the worthy name of its founder. This munificence was exceeded soon after by Mrs. Eliza Garrett, of Illinois, who founded Garrett Biblical Institute, at Evanston, near Chicago, which was opened in 1855. It was under Dr. Dempster's direction, who had previously put into successful operation the Concord Biblical Institute in the East—the first of its kind in the United States. The English Methodists, since 1834, had been training home, and especially foreign, laborers in "the Wesleyan Theological Institution for the improvement of junior preachers;" and of their centenary offering in 1839 they gave \$137,500 to their two theological institutions—one at Didsbury and the other at Richmond.

The Methodists of Alabama emulated these examples by establishing a college at Auburn, and also by building and endowing the Southern University at Greensboro. The Manual Labor School, at Covington, Georgia, had given rise to Emory College, which rivaled the State University. In South-western Virginia, Emory and Henry College had taken its place among the most useful. Randolph Macon was reaching out after its \$100,000 endowment; Texas rejoiced in the prosperity of Soule College, at Chapel Hill; and Missouri was doing well with

St. Charles and Central Colleges; and Kentucky had made a good beginning at Millersburg. La Grange College had been transferred from the mountain to the railroad town of Florence, where handsome buildings had been prepared for it, under another name, and its halls were full of students. The buildings and outfit of the Louisiana State College at Jackson had passed into the hands of a denomination whose energy and numbers gave to the public satisfactory promise of working it successfully—something the State had failed to do—and under the name of Centenary College was being well patronized by the Mississippi and Louisiana Conferences. Female schools and colleges, of excellent grade, were so distributed throughout the land that the educational facilities of Methodism from 1840 to 1860 were quite abreast of the age.*

An interesting question before the General Conference of 1854 at Columbus, Georgia, was the policy and location of the Publishing House. The episcopal college was strengthened by the election of George F. Pierce, John Early, and Hubbard H. Kavanaugh. Having located the Boards and Publishing House in Nashville, the General Conference readily consented to hold its next session there, to see how they fared; and after a session of harmony and healthful interest, the General Conference of 1858, with congratulations and thanksgivings as to the state and outlook of the Church, adjourned, having selected New Orleans as the place of meeting for its successor.

In the northern section of Episcopal Methodism there was a spirit of enlargement and activity. A mission was established

*The fate of Augusta was due to a mistake which must often happen when locations are fixed before the lines of travel and the affinities of population are finally determined. The grand old College was left high and dry on the south bank of the Ohio River; for when its patronizing Conferences on both sides ceased to coöperate, it suited neither, and there was no local patronage. Asbury University, at Greencastle, Indiana, and the Ohio Wesleyan, at Delaware, drew away from it in that direction; and the Kentuckians turned to Transylvania, at Lexington. But Augusta College did not die before doing a work, through a quarter of a century, that can never die. Negotiations for making Transylvania University a connectional institution extended from 1840 to 1850; at one time, with promise of success. But the transfer, as accomplished, only embraced one, instead of its three departments—the academic, or Morrison College—and that was found to be mortgaged. As a mere college, it came into competition with others as good. Its nominal connectionalism excused local apathy. Dr. Bascom gave seven years of valuable labor to it, and ten to Augusta.

in India (1856), which though endangered, happily escaped destruction from the Sepoy rebellion; and it has prospered. Attention to the spiritual wants of immigrants from Germany, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, who were crowding into the North and North-west, was rewarded by success at home, and a reflex influence upon the countries from which they came. Episcopal visitations to Liberia were made at such cost and peril that a colored minister of that Conference—Francis Burns—was made missionary bishop in 1856.

One restless, ever-growing trouble afflicted that section of the Church—slavery. Many Methodists in Delaware and Maryland, and a smaller number in Virginia, being on the border, adhered to that side; and until the line became fixed as low down as possible, abolition agitation was suppressed. “The Discipline as it is” was now the rallying cry of the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Ohio Conferences, and the two former gave their people solemn assurances that they would never submit to any change that looked to making non-slave-holding a term of membership. A well-informed authority says of the decade after the division: “There was a temporary suspension of anti-slavery activity, caused by sympathy with the general solicitude for the peace and harmony of the border. The official papers of the Methodist Episcopal Church were very full and explicit in their assurances, also, that there would be no change in its Discipline on that question.” * In 1852, at the General Conference in Boston, Bishop Hedding having died and Bishop Hamline, a man of feverish eloquence and hypochondriacal humor, having illustrated his own doctrine by resignation, the episcopal bench of the Church, North, was greatly strengthened by the election of Levi Scott, Matthew Simpson, Edward R. Ames, and Osmon C. Baker. The Southern border, began now to be uneasy, and to realize its attitude; four years later it had to contend for toleration, and four years after that, for existence.

While professing to abhor slavery, the Church, North, held on to all the slave-holders who would adhere at first, and sought to take in as many as possible afterward. The organization of an Annual Conference in Kentucky was under consideration at Boston. Heman Bangs, with forcible irony, said: “What do you want to go there for? Have they not Methodist doctrine and Meth-

* *The Anti-slavery Struggle and Triumph*, by Matlack, Chapter XVII.

odist discipline and Methodist institutions already? What do you want to go there for? If it is to get more of these miserable slave-holders into our Church, then I am opposed to it. Haven't we enough of them already?" This brought Mr. Collins, of Baltimore, to his feet. "He could have no fellowship with the cant that had been uttered here about 'these miserable slave-holders.' No; he would bring them in and make them members of our body, and their servants too. It would make them better masters and better servants." Mr. Porter, of New England, was candid enough to say: "Those slave-holders who are in the Church were understood to be there by toleration rather than by right. It was matter of grievance, matter of profound regret, that there was one in the Church, and that our anti-slavery friends were under the necessity every four years of praying us to put a stop to slavery. Is it true that we are trying to tow others in? God forbid!"

Nevertheless, with mission funds, the Conference in Kentucky was created—seventy-seven years to sixty-six years; and subsequently another in Arkansas and in Missouri. In 1856 the Episcopal Address suggested the careful handling of a certain subject, because as a result of their policy "we have six Annual Conferences which are wholly or in part in slave territory."

The old controversy, as transferred to the Church, North, lost none of its earnestness and progressiveness. The signs of advanced action were so strong, before the quadrennial meeting in 1856, that the principal Church paper—the *Christian Advocate* at New York—then edited by one who had misled his friends into an untenable and a false position, used this language: "We did intimate that if the next or any subsequent General Conference should enact a rule of discipline excluding all slave-holders from the Church, whatever be their character or circumstances, it would become the duty of the border Conferences to disregard the rule." The committee of that General Conference did bring in a report recommending a change in the Rule on slavery so as to make non-slave-holding a condition of membership. This required a two-thirds majority to put it on its passage in the Annual Conferences, and a three-fourths vote from them. A shorter route proposed was, to pass a statutory law, by a majority, having the same effect. The eager abolitionists saw no reason why constitutional delays should restrain them from extirpating

slavery, when the sentiment of the age was so overwhelmingly against it. An elaborate speech was made by Dr. Abel Stevens. He insisted that the General Rule allowed slaveholding: "Let it come out then, sir; for the sake of frankness, for the sake of repentance, for the sake of amendment, let it be acknowledged that historically, constitutionally, administratively, we have been a slave-holding, though an anti-slavery, Church." And he warned them against attempting to compass their end by a statutory enactment: "Another division of the Church could not, we all know, be limited to the border. It would strike its desolating fractures, like the rending of an earthquake, through all our solid central strength, to the very North itself. Our denominational history would close, sir, with another such disaster. Fragments of the stately structure might remain, but fragments which would themselves only crumble more and more away." Alfred Griffith and John A. Collins and Henry Slicer warned and entreated that the blow might not fall. Two parties were formed—Northern and Southern anti-slavery; and some of the former took the ground that "no Christian can, by any possibility, either be a slave or a slave-holder, in any proper sense of these words." A delegate from North Ohio said: "Let something be done, some advanced step be taken, or send us not back to our people." The venerable Dr. George Peck assured them that many of their best and wealthiest members in the North sympathized with the border in this conflict with ultraism, and intimated that a split might begin, but would not end, there. He opposed more stringent legislation:

If a hope might be entertained that the ceaseless agitation on the subject of slavery would pause somewhere this side of the total ruin of the work in the slave-holding States, there would be some plausibility in a compromise measure; indeed, almost any change in the law which would not absolutely expel all slaveholders—if its enactment would set the question finally at rest—would be preferable to the irritations of an endless controversy. Our progressive brethren are prepared to take all they can get, but with the frank avowal that they will continue to press on toward the goal of a final separation of all slave-holders from the Church. This is what they purpose to accomplish as soon as they can command the votes; they will only pause upon intermediate points to take breath for a brief period. The present measure, radical as it is, is not a finality; it is not what our reformers ask for and intend to have; agitation will go on, and the war upon our Southern border will continue to be pressed with increasing vigor, until our brethren there shall either be forced out of the Church or compelled to submit to legal enactments which are utterly impossible in the slave-holding States.

The persuasive John P. Durbin wrote and spoke, presenting the example of the primitive Church and the Bible treatment of the subject. He showed very elaborately by numerous quotations from the New Testament, concerning masters and servants, with the expositions of the most learned commentators and scholars in support of the view, "that the apostles admitted slave-holders into the Church." The Indianapolis General Conference was persuaded to forbear taking the shorter route, and to treat the grave subject of a new term of membership more deliberately. In favor of changing the General Rule, there were one hundred and twenty-two votes; against it, ninety-six. As it required a majority of two-thirds to adopt it and put it upon its passage through the Annual Conferences, Bishop Waugh announced the result by saying: "The resolution is not adopted, not having two-thirds of the votes in its favor."

The position of the border Conferences from 1856 to 1860 was very much that of a prisoner awaiting execution. The topics of the day were making the political cauldron boil. After several days' debate in the General Conference at Buffalo (1860), the vote on changing the General Rule was one hundred and thirty-eight yeas to seventy-four nays, which was less, but barely less, than the two-thirds majority. But the grinding new chapter—statutory—was adopted by one hundred and fifty-five yeas to fifty-eight nays. The Baltimore, East Baltimore, and Philadelphia Conferences demanded its repeal, and began to resist.

Modern abolitionism—a combined product of political, social, sectional, and commercial influences, and partaking of a stimulating type of moral sentiment—was now become strong. Instead of putting into the field a candidate to be ridiculed, as was the case twenty years before, it took good advantage of the divided state of the two national parties that had hitherto governed the country, and was bringing forward a man to win the presidential prize—whose election dated a revolution. Nothing but the civil war, which was precipitated upon the country **saved Northern Methodism from an impending disaster.**

CHAPTER XLVI.

Civil War: Some of its Effects upon the Church, South—Numbers and Strength Diminished—Peace Restored—Address of the Bishops—General Conference of 1866—Resuscitation—Legislation—Flourishing Condition of the Church, North, in the Meantime—Lay Delegation—District Conferences—Constitutional Test—What Became of the Negro Membership of the Church, South—Foreign Missions—Education—General Conferences from 1870 to 1882.

THE war between the States affected, more or less damagingly, all religious interests. In each end of the Union the largest popular element was represented by Methodism, and naturally each section of the Church was in sympathy with its own people. In the Methodist Episcopal Church, the membership from 1860 to 1864 showed a decrease of over sixty-eight thousand. This loss occurred chiefly on the border. But the times were flush with money there, and their financial interests were constantly improving. Their contributions for missions increased over sixty per cent. in these four years.

The Church, South, shared in all the calamities of the long and unequal conflict. The distresses of war were intensified by the impoverishment and confusion which follow invasion and defeat. The actual loss of members—not including colored—slightly exceeded one hundred and thirteen thousand. Hundreds of churches were burned, or dismantled by use as hospitals, warehouses, or stables. College endowments were swept away, and the buildings abandoned. Annual Conferences met irregularly or in fragments; the General Conference (of 1862) was not held; and the whole order of the itinerancy was interrupted. The Church-press was silent, and many of the most liberal supporters of the Church and its institutions were reduced to abject want.

The situation, as revealed after peace was restored, may not be described. Two thousand one hundred and ten battles had been fought, and hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of property had been destroyed.* A few figures may serve as an index for Southern Methodism: In 1860 the number of white members (including 5,353 local preachers) was 542,489; in 1866 the number (including 3,829 local preachers) was 429,233. In 1860 the collection in all the Conferences to

* Official Reports of Surgeon-general Barnes (3 vols. folio), giving the list of battle-fields.

aid superannuated preachers and widows and orphans was \$67,030; in 1866 for the same class of claimants, more needy than ever, \$35,444. In 1860 there were 2,458 effective traveling preachers, and 266 recruits admitted on trial; in 1866 the number was 2,116, and 114 admitted on trial.* It was six or seven years before the old figures were touched again, and this marks the period of greatest depression. The Publishing House had been seized by military officers and used for a United States printing-office and other purposes, at a great loss and damage to the property. The missionaries in China had been cut off from all communication with the home Board. The drafts in their hands were honored by the indorsement of the Treasurer of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at New York, and served their uses for a time; but this, of course, was only a temporary relief, leaving a debt.

This debt was hard to meet, and one of the first efforts was directed to it. The lightest sum seemed heavy; but it was a pleasing instance of brotherly kindness, when such acts were rare. The catholic-spirited act of Dr. Thomas Carlton gave an intimation of what many others felt but had not an opportunity of demonstrating. Whatever mitigates the logic of war is a charity to the human race. When this short supply was exhausted the missionaries of the Church, South, were thrown upon their own resources. Dr. Allen found employment in the service of the Chinese Government, in its translation and editorial department, which gave him access to the higher classes, the educated Chinese, and opened to him the opportunity for diffusing Christian thought and truth through native channels. Along with this work he continued the ministry of the word as he was able. He and Dr. Lambuth both supported themselves during those trying years, and carried forward their mission-work until supplies in small amounts began to reach them—at once a relief, and an assurance that the Church had no purpose of abandoning her plans, though not in condition to expand them.

The Indian mission work was brought very low. In 1860 it numbered four thousand one hundred and sixty members, with numerous schools; but when the muster-roll was called six years later only seven hundred and one could be found. Their country had been overrun by marauding troops, and Colonels Che-

* Hand-book of Southern Methodism, by P. A. Peterson, D.D.: 1883.

cote, Standwattie, and other chiefs, under the Confederate banner, had led their warriors on the losing side. Tribes and families were dispersed; and starvation must have completed the distresses of war but for the ability of Indians to live at the lowest subsistence-point. It was gravely doubted whether the Indian Conference could ever be reorganized.

Homes had been laid waste, and cattle, mills, and implements of industry destroyed; streams were without bridges and fields without fences. Large districts were on the verge of famine for two or three years after armies had been disbanded. But the most discouraging feature of all was the methods employed in reorganizing the civil governments under cormorant exactors and demagogues, and in the presence of four millions of emancipated slaves with the ballot in their hands. Under these circumstances, with these surroundings, Southern Methodism began its rehabilitation; perplexed, but not in despair; cast down, but not destroyed.

In the summer of 1865 the Bishops met in Columbus, Georgia and, consulting on the situation, issued an address. It was like the blast of a trumpet, and gave no uncertain sound.—The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, yet lived, and in all its polity and principles was unchanged. Neither disintegration nor absorption was for a moment to be thought of, all rumors to the contrary notwithstanding. Whatever banner had fallen or been folded up, that of Southern Methodism was still unfurled; whatever cause had been lost, that of Southern Methodism survived. And the delegates to the General Conference were summoned to meet in New Orleans, April, 1866, according to adjournment eight years before. The peeled and scattered hosts, discouraged and confused by adversities and adverse rumors, rallied; the Annual Conferences were well attended; and never did delegates meet in General Conference from center and remotest posts more enthusiastically; of one hundred and fifty-three elect, one hundred and forty-nine were present.

One of the events of the opening session was a fine-looking delegation of Baltimore Methodists, who had taken the first opportunity of adhering to the Church, South, thus offsetting some losses in Northern Kentucky and East Tennessee. They withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1861, and maintained an independent existence until their ses-

sion in Alexandria, March, 1866, when this formal union was effected under Bishop Early, and delegates were elected.*

Men's minds had become used to great changes, and the session at New Orleans was therefore favorable for measures upon which the usual conservatism might have hesitated long in ordinary times. Class-meetings can never be too highly esteemed for the good they do and have done; but one of the acts of 1866 was to recognize the fact that attendance on them ought not to be enforced with greater penalties than attendance upon other means of grace. The rigid limit of six months' probation was abolished. Admission to Church-membership must be guarded with reasonable and conscientious care. Wordly-minded material cannot build up a spiritual house; privileges lightly bestowed are lightly esteemed; and responsibilities incurred without being emphatically understood are already in the way to be neglected, and always to the scandal of pure religion. Pastors are therefore required, when persons offer themselves for membership, to inquire into their spiritual condition, and to obtain satisfactory assurances of their religious experience and their purpose of conformity and consecration, before admitting them. This may be done at once, or it may be a month or a year before the candidate is brought before the congregation to take the vows. The longest term of a pastor's continuous service at one congregation had been two years; it was now fixed at four. At one time a motion was favorably entertained to remove the limit altogether, leaving the appointment annual, but to be repeated at the discretion of the appointing power. This, however, was reconsidered, none objecting more to the extension of discretion than the Bishops. If they, for the good of the whole work, must move the preachers, the law must keep them movable.

District Conferences were discussed and recommended, though not regulated by law until four years later. They came extensively into use throughout the Connection, and by the time the next General Conference took the matter in hand for definitely

* This body formed a portion of the original Baltimore Conference which had been divided into Baltimore and East Baltimore. The war changed a large amount of the opposition developed by the (Buffalo) General Conference of 1860; incipient separation was estopped; and the first resolutions taken in that way were rescinded at subsequent sessions. War fused nearly all Northern sentiment into abolitionism. The portion of the Baltimore Conference, represented at New Orleans, numbered 108 traveling and 57 local preachers, and 12,000 members.

shaping it, this institute had shown admirable fitness for serving the Church to edification. This was not that District Conference which obtained from 1820 to 1836—confined to local preachers, and never popular or useful. It was rather a return to the earlier practice, when a Yearly Conference was held by Bishop Asbury in every District. Simple in organization, and bringing together various elements of power within a range wide enough for variety and narrow enough for coöperation; promoting Christian fellowship; taking cognizance of a class of subjects which neither Annual nor Quarterly Conferences can so well handle; and bringing to bear upon given points, for days, the best preaching, where Christian hospitality and love-feasts and sacraments may be enjoyed—the District Conference fell at once into place.

The great measure of 1866 was lay delegation. Its prostrate, almost collapsed, condition required all available help the Church could command. A sentiment in favor of lay coöperation had been growing quietly for years. Once, only two questions were asked in Annual Conference: How many are in Society? Where are the preachers stationed this year? There was no business for laymen then. The schedule grew to embrace a wider range of topics and a larger care. By and by education, Sunday-schools and Sunday observance, religious publications and their dissemination, orphanage and widowhood, temperance, and Church extension, began to occupy much time in Annual and General Conferences, and the need of laymen was felt.

The original motion was in the form of two resolutions, simple and general, not embarrassed by particulars. The first was. "*Resolved*, That it is the sense of this General Conference that lay representation be introduced into the Annual and the General Conferences." This was adopted by ninety-six yeas, forty-nine nays. The principle once admitted, even by a numerical majority, every thing was gained. Men who were doubtful, or so indifferent to the new measure as to vote on the old side, saw that the Church could not well stand in that attitude on such a subject—excluding laymen on a minority expression of the ministry; and enough of them consented to waive their preferences on the final record to make a two-thirds majority.

A special committee, called for by the second resolution, took the matter in hand, with instructions to arrange the details of a plan; which was adopted, ninety-seven yeas, forty-one nays.

The measure having passed on to the Annual Conferences, obtained the requisite three-fourths vote, and laymen took their seats in the General Conference of 1870.

Considering the Annual Conference as mainly an executive body, the presence of only four lay delegates from each district is provided for there; but in the General Conference, the law-making body, the number of lay delegates is equal to the clerical. So ripe was public opinion, and so propitious the times, and so well digested the scheme, that this great change was introduced without heat or partisanship. Unstintedly, voluntarily, on their own motion, the ministry, who had held this power from the beginning, divided it equally with lay brethren. Their appearance in the chief council of the Church, and their influence, justified their introduction, even to those who had feared; a new power was developed, a new interest awakened, a new progress begun. At least two tentative schemes preceded this consummation. In the Virginia Conference the Joint Board of Finance had been in use before it was taken into consideration and recommended by the General Conference of 1850.* In 1854 the Louisiana Conference began to practice lay coöperation on a larger scale, and its financial and spiritual conditions were soon the better for it. A number of laymen from each district were invited to meet with the Conference. The subjects usually referred to committees—as books and periodicals, missions, church and parsonage building, education, ministerial support, Sunday-schools—were considered on afternoons in committee of the whole, where these laymen spoke and voted; and the reported conclusion was formally adopted by the legal Conference. This plan came into use in the Mississippi Conference, and perhaps others, with advantage.

Bishops Soule, Andrew, and Early, aged and feeble, were, at their request, retired upon the superannuated list; and four bishops were elected and ordained—William M. Wightman, Enoch M. Marvin, David S. Doggett, and Holland N. McTyeire.

The Publishing House and Missionary Society wrecks were patched up, and sent forth desperately, to sink or swim. There was no capital, and but little credit; no supply, but much demand. The weekly *Christian Advocates*, one by one, got into position; the colleges and schools reöpened under miscellaneous

*It is credited to the fertile mind of Dr. William A. Smith

classification; the *débris* of cities and farms was cleared away, and new structures gradually rose; the earth was fruitful and responded to labor; the energies of a people, whose spirit was not broken but rather invigorated by adversity, grappled with the strange situation; the rapacious adventurers who had settled down like a nightmare upon State and county and municipal governments were thrown off; the new instauration disclosed its advantages and compensations; things mended and times grew better. The itinerant went forth again on his gracious errands; old circuit lines were restored and enlarged; new and larger churches were built, and better parsonages; and by the blessing of the Lord the Church survived and grew. The white membership was less in number than twelve years before, but it was doubled in fifteen years, with a corresponding improvement in Church property and accommodations and ministerial support.*

In 1866 were reported 78,742 of the colored membership that had numbered 207,766. The two African Churches, hitherto operating mainly in the North, appropriated a large share of them; another portion went to Northern Methodism, which had also come down to divide the spoils. To the latter went many of the preachers and exhorters, who made the most efficient agents for extending their new organization in the Southern field; and some of them have more than once figured creditably in their General Conferences. The remnant that claved to the Church which min-

* In 1850 (according to United States census tables) the value represented by church-buildings and parsonages in the Church, South, was \$3,771,502. In 1883 it was \$13,323,592—an increase of 253 per cent. In 1857 the Church, North, had \$17,998,181 in church-buildings and parsonages. In 1883 the amount was \$79,238,985, an increase in twenty-six years of 342 per cent. In comparing the increase of Church property North and South, the comparative wealth of the two sections will be seen by the following figures: In 1850 the taxable property (slaves not included) of the thirteen Southern States occupied by the Church, South, was \$2,480,000,000. In 1880 the taxable property in these States was \$2,370,000,000. Showing a clear loss of real and personal estate in thirty years of \$110,000,000. In 1850 the Northern States owned (including Maryland and Delaware, where Southern Methodism had no members) \$3,473,000,000. In 1880 these States owned \$14,403,000,000. Gain in the thirty years, \$10,930,000,000. Showing a gain of 314 per cent. in thirty years. Thus it appears that the gain of 342 per cent. in Church property by the Methodist Episcopal Church (North) was based upon a general property increase of 314 per cent. in thirty years. On the other hand, the gain of 253 per cent. in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was made in the face of an actual decrease of general property amounting to \$110,000,000. (Dr. W. P. Harrison's Centenary Year Tables.)

istered to them in slavery were set off into circuits, districts, and Annual Conferences; and at their request were constituted an independent body under the name chosen by themselves—"The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The Discipline of the parent body was adopted, without material alterations, and two bishops, of their own election, were ordained.* The General Conference, which authorized this proceeding, also ordered that all Church property that had been acquired, held, and used for Methodist negroes in the past be turned over to them by Quarterly Conferences and trustees.

Now was seen the fruit of a hundred years of Christian labor and influence bestowed upon the servile population. There were no St. Domingo scenes. Incitements and opportunities were not wanting, and in many counties and in whole States negroes were in the numerical majority; but there was no riot or massacre, no wholesale pillage or insurrection. When left to themselves the ex-slaves settled down into kind relations with their late masters and their families, and often continued in their employment under the new relation. A religious sentiment pervaded and dominated the emancipated race, and the chief annoyance white communities pretended to suffer was from endless preachings and protracted meetings. That such a suddenly enforced and universal emancipation did not end in bloody calamity to both races is due mainly to Christian work persistently pursued by Methodists, and also by Baptists, and not wholly neglected by other Churches in the South. The average statesman, and politician, and historian, is slow to see this great fact, and to acknowledge its salutary force in the problem of civil life.

One compensation of a divided family appeared—when the Church, South, was very poor, the Northern section was enriched and increased in goods. In 1864 their Church Extension Society was established in Philadelphia, through which nearly two millions of dollars have been gathered and disbursed; the limit of the pastoral term was changed from two to three years; three bishops were elected:† all the Southland was mapped out for occupation; and the motion to change the General Rule so as

* This was done in Jackson, Tennessee, December, 1870. W. H. Miles and R. H. Vanderhorst were ordained by Bishops Paine and McTyeire, who presided at the Conventional General Conference.

† Davis W. Clark, Edward Thompson, and Calvin Kingsley.

to make slave-holding a bar to membership obtained a two-thirds majority—207 ayes, 9 nays—and this constitutional amendment was put on its passage through the Annual Conferences, which in due time returned a very decided three-fourths vote.*

Under the leadership of that great chief of the Bureau—Dr. Durbin—foreign fields had been occupied and Conferences organized in China, and India, and the North of Europe, and their Bishops were engaged in tours of missionary visitations round the world, at a time when the Southern Bishops were shut up by embargo. They were celebrating the Embury Chapel† Centenary (1866) with gifts and offerings that did honor to universal Methodism, while their less fortunate brethren were gathering up the fragments and making a new start. Over eight millions of dollars were contributed among them for various purposes. Drew Seminary, the gift of a generous layman, dates from that year. The wealthy sons and friends of Wesleyan University raised its endowment to a sum that would have seemed fabulous in the early Asburyan age; and all these personal gifts were soon exceeded by the plain, economical, pious, Isaac Rich, of Boston, who left more than a million of dollars for the Methodist university founded by him.

The officials of Northern Methodism, by right of influence exerted and services rendered, enjoyed favor with the Federal Government, and this was of great advantage to them in pushing their

*The President's Emancipation Proclamation (Jan. 1, 1863) anticipated the action of the Church by about two years.

† We have seen Northern Methodism a slave-holding Church to the end of the institution. A curious scrap of history shows a very early connection with it. J. B. Wakely, D.D., of the New York Conference, in "Lost Chapters recovered from the Early History of American Methodism," opens the original book of official records of Philip Embury's Chapel. Peter Williams began in 1778 to be sexton for John Street Church, and was a convert of Captain Webb's in the Rigging Loft. Peter was a black slave, the property of one Aymar, an Englishman. Aymar being a loyalist left the country, and the trustees of the "Cradle of American Methodism" bought Peter. This is the record on the "old book:"

"June 10, 1783—Paid Mr. Aymar for his negro Peter, £10."

Peter became free afterward by self-redemption. The first credit on the "old book" in his favor is for his watch, valued at £5. Then there are various credits of less amounts, until the last is made—"Nov. 4, 1785—By cash received of Peter Williams, in full of all demands, £5. 7. 0." The bill of sale is very business-like; but it does not appear that Peter got his free-papers until Oct. 20, 1796 (See Lost Chapters, pages 450 to 467.)

lines southward and westward. Bishop Kavanaugh was able, during the war, to visit the Pacific Coast. He was arrested at a camp-meeting near Stockton, and carried before the commander of the post at San Francisco, as a dangerous person; but on searching his papers nothing worse was found than lists of quarterly-meetings. Southern Methodists endured more than ordinary misfortunes. One thing, however, they did not look for, and it made a deep wound. After the Federal forces had occupied large sections of Southern territory, Bishop Ames, with preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, followed the victorious army with an order procured from Secretary of War Stanton, and took forcible possession of Southern Methodist pulpits, even to the exclusion of ministers appointed by the Church authorities and desired by the congregation.* These violent pastors held on after the war ceased, and had to be ousted, ungracefully and reluctantly. The intruder placed in Carondelet Street Church, by Bishop Ames's order, was got out barely in time for the meeting of the General Conference at New Orleans.

The Church, North, adopted lay delegation, admitting two laymen from the larger Conferences into the General Conference, but none into the Annual; also a plan of District Conferences. At the Brooklyn session (1872) lay delegates took their seats, and the unprecedented number of eight bishops was elected.†

Decided improvement in jurisprudence was made at the New Orleans session. For the last time was witnessed the tedious and

* HEAD-QUARTERS, DEP'T OF THE GULF, New Orleans, Jan. 18, 1864.
Special Orders, No. 15.

IN accordance with instructions contained in a letter from the Secretary of War, under date of November 30, 1863, all houses of worship within this Department, belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in which a loyal minister, who has been appointed by a loyal Bishop of the said Church does not now officiate, are hereby placed at the disposal of the Reverend Bishop Ames. Commanding officers at the various points where such houses of worship may be located are directed to extend to the ministers that may be appointed by Bishop Ames, to conduct divine service in said houses of worship, all the aid, countenance, and support practicable, in the execution of their mission. Officers of the Quartermasters' Departments are authorized and directed to furnish Bishop Ames and his clerk with transportation and subsistence, when it can be done without prejudice to the service; and all officers will afford them courtesy, assistance, and protection. By command of Major-general Banks.

† Thomas Bowman, W. L. Harris, R. S. Foster, I. W. Wiley, S. M. Merrill, E. G. Andrews, Gilbert Haven, and J. T. Peck.

unsatisfactory trial of an appeal in open Conference. Such business is now relegated to judicious committees, both in Annual and General Conferences, much to the advantage of justice and decency. It was reserved for the next session (Memphis, 1870)—in which laymen first sat—to complete a measure which had been attempted and failed twice or thrice, half a century before, and without which legislation is never secure. The General Conference is restrained by certain constitutional limitations, called Restrictive Rules. When and how may it be determined that any one of those limitations has been violated? If the legislature is the judge of these limitations to its own power, then virtually there are no limitations. With great unanimity this point was now settled which had been overlooked in 1808.* At this Conference John C. Keener was elected and ordained bishop, the first to enjoy the distinction of being chosen by representatives of the two classes he serves—preachers and people.†

In 1871 Bishop Marvin, presiding at the West Texas Conference, ordained, and appointed to the Rio Grande, Alejo Hernandez, a native of Mexico, an ex-soldier against Maximilian, and a convert, not from Romanism, but from the infidelity to which a reaction from Romanism often leads. He proved a chosen vessel, and began the evangelizing work which has been developed into the Mexican Border Mission, extending from Corpus Christi to El Paso, along the Rio Grande Valley, and including, irregularly, the territory on both sides for about a hundred miles. In that peculiar population lying along the United States and the Mexican frontier, and subject to strange vicissitudes of revolution, a native ministry has been raised up, churches have been gathered, circuits and districts formed. An American was found well adapted and willingly devoted to this hard border labor—a “successor” of that small band who, in 1840, received appointments in the Republic of Texas.‡ By God’s blessing upon his faithful workmen, that wilderness may one day blossom as the rose. If this border movement be carried forward into Mexico, and make progress into the interior, it will become possible to unite the Central Mexican with the Mexican Border, and organize one Conference to cover all the Mexican work.

* See foot-note on page 569, and on page 513. † Third ballot, 184 votes—J. C. Keener, 96; J. A. Duncan, 84.

‡ A. H. Sutherland, first superintendent. Hernandez, after being transferred to the Central Mexican Mission, and making full proof of his ministry, died in 1875.

The changes in the civil conditions of Mexico—its freedom from the domination of Romanism, and its concession of liberty of conscience and worship to all its citizens—stirred Bishop Keener to inaugurate a mission there. Procuring contributions and promises of support sufficient to justify the movement, he visited the City of Mexico early in the year 1873 and, purchasing property for the church, appointed Hernandez to make a beginning. A year afterward he repeated his visit, taking more laborers, and found Protestantism making headway. Native helpers came forward, and by March, 1877, there were seventy members, a full congregation, and the Sabbath and day schools were kept up with a good attendance. Next year a superintendent entered upon this work who organized at once a system of evangelistic operations, reaching to all accessible points in the States adjacent to the City of Mexico.* The press was brought into requisition, and the *Evangelista Mexicano* issued. There were reported at the close of his first year two hundred and sixty-eight members, twelve native preachers, and eight teachers. Generous donations have been made by individuals and societies, and considerable Church property has been accumulated in the Republic. Reënforcements of men and means continue to go in that direction, and the not distant future may see a continuous territory occupied by the Church, South, from the western border of Texas. The Northern branch of Methodism has entered the same field with accustomed zeal and energy.

The *reconnaissance* of Brazil in 1835 was first followed up for permanent occupation in 1876.† Many and great changes had taken place in forty years. The intolerant despotism of the Romish Church, in Brazil, as in Mexico, had brought on a conflict with the government. The Emperor was an enlightened and cultivated man, and the higher classes and legislative bodies had shaken themselves loose from the grasp of the priesthood, and thrown the empire open to educational and religious enterprise. Rio de Janeiro, the capital and commercial emporium of the empire, was made the basis of operations. The popular drift was

* W. M. Patterson, D.D., from the Memphis Conference.

† John J. Ransom, of the Tennessee Conference. He arrived February 2d. J. E. Newman, an elder of the Alabama Conference, settled in the Province of San Paulo soon after the war; opened his mission to English-speaking people; organized a Church at Santa Barbara; and was recognized by the Board as a missionary in May, 1875.

toward infidelity, and the general tone was that of indifference to religion. A small native society was gathered, and a larger number of English-speaking residents. A church has been built and a school enterprised. Piracicaba has also been selected as a center of operations for preaching and for religious education.

The improved condition of the Church and country in 1870 and the wants of both, called for the office of General Sunday-school Secretary, to whom was committed the superintendence of the entire department of Sunday-school literature.* This department of publications soon became the most popular, and lucrative to the Publishing House. In 1882 a Church Extension Society was organized, whose aid was timely for the openings in the great South-west.†

One of the first things attempted in the new era, and the last achieved by the Church, South, was the restoration of its literary institutions. Some were never reöpened.‡ Here money was inexorably required—zeal, industry, patriotism, and patience, could not attain unto it. The higher education costs more than the average student can pay; it must rest on endowment. Six or seven Conferences, covering a wide reach of territory and population, undertook, in 1872, to found a university such as would meet the wants of the Church and the country. A convention, composed of delegates from Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, adopted a plan for such an institution, and it was determined to take no steps toward selecting a site, or opening any department of the institution, until the sum of \$500,000 should be obtained in valid subscriptions. Of institutions of lower grade than that contemplated it was believed there was already a supply. The effort to raise funds demonstrated the impossibility of the enterprise. In the judgment of its best friends the scheme was considered a failure, when Cornelius Vanderbilt, a citizen of New York, made a donation of \$500,000, which he afterward in-

* A. G. Haygood, D.D., was elected to this position, which he filled until December, 1875, when he resigned, and was succeeded by W. G. E. Cunyningham, D.D.

† D. Morton, D.D., Secretary, has made an excellent showing for the first year's operations of this new arm of the service, domiciled at Louisville.

‡ Trinity College, North Carolina, and the South-western University, Georgetown, Texas, with a strong combination of patronizing Conferences, belong to the new era. The first succeeded Normal, the second superseded Soule College.

creased to \$1,000,000; and subsequently his son, William H. Vanderbilt, made a donation of \$250,000, to provide a further outfit, and to increase the permanent endowment to \$700,000. In West Nashville the senior Superintendent, Bishop Paine, on his way to the General Conference of 1874, attended by numerous delegates, laid the corner-stone; and with full faculties, a university of six departments, including theology, was formally opened in October, 1875. The Founder concluded his final communication to the President of the Board of Trust, expressing approval of the organization of the university, with these words: "And if it shall, through its influence contribute, even in the smallest degree, to strengthen the ties which should exist between all geographical sections of our common country, I shall feel that it has accomplished one of the objects that led me to take an interest in it."* Several years later George I. Seney, of New York, by a donation of \$200,000 to Emory College and Wesleyan Female College,† Georgia, greatly enlarged, beautified, and strengthened those institutions. Education prospered greatly in the other branch of Episcopal Methodism, and they often had occasion, both on account of the inroads of death and because their work was enlarging, to bring forward new men and strong, to posts of responsibility.‡

The General Conference, with gratitude for the signs of prosperity on every side, met in Nashville, 1882. The Head of the Church had blessed their labors, more than restored all their losses, and given them peace. Alpheus Wilson, Linus Parker, Atticus G. Haygood,§ John C. Granbery, and Robert K. Hargrove, were elected bishops. The ordination sermon was preached by Bishop Kavanaugh, who, in less than two years, received the

* "Commodore" Vanderbilt was not a member of the Church, but his mother was a Moravian, of Staten Island, whose memory he revered; and his wife (by second marriage) a Methodist, of Mobile. Consulting with one of the Southern Bishops, through whom he made his donation, he said—referring to the Lennox Library, then going up: "It is the style, when a man builds a college or library, to put it down here, where there are plenty. I will put this where it is needed."

† This institution is believed to be the oldest in the United States, perhaps in the world, established upon the plan of a regular college, with authority to confer degrees upon women. Mr. Seney, its benefactor, is a Methodist, and the son of an itinerant of the old panel.

‡ In 1880 H. W. Warren, C. D. Foss, J. F. Hurst, and E. O. Haven, were elected bishops. In 1884, Drs. Ninde, Walden, Fowler, and Mallalieu. § Declined.

summons to enter the joy of his Lord, while in the pulpit, in his eighty-second year. Bishop Paine conducted his last public service in laying hands upon his younger brethren, and committing to them a charge which he, for thirty-six years, had fulfilled with spotless fidelity and the most eminent ability.

Since 1878 a new power has entered the field; it was then recognized—the Woman's Missionary Society. Moved by the reports of the success of women as Bible-readers in heathen lands, and as helpers in domestic missions, the godly women of Southern Methodism, upon the first opportunity, undertook this errand of mercy in various cities, beginning at Baltimore; and at Atlanta they were ready for combination and coöperation. Efficiently have they planned and acted, so that both impulse and breadth have been given to operations in China, in Brazil, and on the Mexican Border. Working in agreement with the Board of Missions, they yet keep up a separate management, which is stimulating the spirit and enlarging the field of missions.

Bishop Marvin (1876–7) visited China, strengthened the hands of the missionaries, and bore a testimony concerning the field that caused a quickened interest throughout the Church, and a steady increase of its forces. He ordained native preachers, and returned after a year's absence; but he was not permitted to make his report to the ensuing General Conference. Before his lamented death, however, he had published an account of his tour, which still speaks to the churches.

The busy laborers disappear from the scene. “God buries his workmen, but carries on his work.” Capers, the Chrysostom of Methodism, has long since fallen on sleep; and Soule and Andrew and Early—whose sixty years of labor in his native Virginia associated him closely with all its material and spiritual development. The Church has mourned more recently for the eloquent and useful Wightman and Doggett. Lovick Pierce, in his ninety-fifth year, died; but so pervasive was the influence of that pure and powerful life, he seems yet to live. And the late death of his son, the senior Bishop of the Church, was the great loss and sorrow of American Methodism.

CHAPTER XLVII.

The Era of Fraternity: Correspondence Anent it—Deputations—Delegates—Joint Commission at Cape May—Status and Basis Definitely Declared—Property Claims Adjusted—Ecumenical Conference—City Road Chapel—London Methodists—Centenary Celebration at Baltimore—From 1784 to 1884.

THE last letter John Wesley wrote to America was to Ezekiel Cooper, and contained these words: "Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world, and that it is their full determination so to continue."

The grand *depositum* of Wesleyan doctrine is common to them all, under whatever name or in whatever region they proclaim it; the same enemies oppose, and the same standards are appealed to; the same historical names and facts are cherished by them all. Whatever differences may exist between the various branches of this ecclesiastical family, they are nearer to each other than they can be to other people. "I am a Methodist" awakes strong sympathies and affinities, and is associated with a fellowship, doctrines, experience, usages, means of grace, peculiar to this form of Christianity, and dear to every one who has enjoyed them. Notwithstanding occasional personal offenses against the unity of the Spirit, and improper associate acts and utterances, many waters cannot quench the love of the Spirit.

Efforts at formal fraternal relations were broken off at the reactionary General Conference of 1848. There the messenger of peace from the South, being rejected, left the proposition:

You will therefore regard this communication as final on the part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She can never renew the offer of fraternal relations between the two great bodies of Wesleyan Methodists in the United States. But the proposition can be renewed at any time, either now or hereafter, by the Methodist Episcopal Church; and if ever made upon the basis of the Plan of Separation, as adopted by the General Conference of 1844, the Church, South, will cordially entertain the proposition.

And there it rested for over twenty years. In May, 1869, the Southern Bishops, at their annual meeting in St. Louis, were waited upon by a deputation, consisting of Bishops Janes and Simpson, conveying a communication. These distinguished brethren brought, officially, a letter of recent date from their

colleagues, saying: "It seems to us that as the division of those Churches of our country which are of like faith and order has been productive of evil, so the reunion of them would be productive of good. As the main cause of the separation has been removed, so has the chief obstacle to the restoration.

We are aware that there are difficulties in the way, growing out of the controversies of the past and the tempers of the present. We have, therefore, deputed our colleagues to confer with you, alike as to the propriety, practicability, and methods of reunion." They also reported their declaration made and published in Erie, Pa., June, 1865: "That the great cause which led to the separation from us of both the Wesleyan Methodists of this country and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has passed away, and we trust the day is not far distant when there shall be but one organization, which shall embrace the whole Methodist family in the United States." This declaration, they added, was referred to in the Quadrennial Address to their late General Conference, "and no exception was taken to it by that body."

The interview was a pleasant one, but brief, and the deputation as suddenly left the city as it came. The College of Bishops had now an offer of reunion on their hands, and no questions or explanations with the other party possible. To indicate a prompt refusal, or that the proposition was under consideration, would be alike hurtful—the public mind was so ready for misconception on that subject. They replied at sufficient length to be understood. A generation had grown up ignorant of the question at issue; and here was an opportunity to get a good hearing of the matter, both in the Northern and Southern papers. They therefore courteously reminded the brethren that fraternal feelings and relations must, in the nature of the case, be established before any question of reunion can be entertained. "Heart divisions must be cured before corporate division can be healed," and referring to the well-known failure of their delegate:

You could not expect us to say less than this—that the words of our rejected delegate have been ever since, and still are, our words. It may help to the more speedy and certain attainment of the ends we both desire, to keep distinctly in mind our mutual positions, and to hold the facts involved in our common history in a clear light. You say "that the great cause which led to the separation from us of both the Wesleyan Methodists of this country and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has passed away." If we understand your reference, we so far differ from you in this opinion that it may help any negotiations hereafter taking

place to restate our position. Slavery was not, in any proper sense, the cause, but the occasion only, of that separation, the necessity of which we regretted as much as you. But certain principles were developed in relation to the political aspects of that question, involving the right of ecclesiastical bodies to handle and determine matters lying outside of their proper jurisdiction, which we could not accept; and in a case arising, certain constructions of the constitutional powers and prerogatives of the General Conference were assumed and acted on, which we considered oppressive and destructive of the rights of the numerical minority represented in that highest judicatory of the Church. That which you are pleased to call—no doubt sincerely thinking it so—"the great cause" of separation existed in the Church from its organization, and yet for sixty years there was no separation. But when those theories, incidentally evolved in connection with it, began to be put into practice, then the separation came.

We cannot think you mean to offend us when you speak of our having separated from you, and put us in the same category with a small body of schismatics who were always an acknowledged secession. Allow us, in all kindness, brethren, to remind you, and to keep the important fact of history prominent, that we separated from you in no sense in which you did not separate from us. The separation was by compact and mutual; and nearer approaches to each other can be conducted, with hope of a successful issue, only on this basis.

They respectfully disclaimed authority or disposition to say any thing on the "propriety, practicability, and methods of reunion."

This correspondence was spread before both Churches, and did good. It was something for brethren estranged to meet, and to speak candidly. Several local and individual fraternity movements were tried without success. The Baltimore Conference (South) being in session, March, 1870, the Baltimore Conference (North) appointed two fraternal delegates to it; men personally most estimable and beloved. But the Conference declined to receive them in their official character, and rejected the overture, on the principle that the General and not the Annual Conferences of the two Connections have the right and power properly to institute fraternal relations.

Bishop Janes and Rev. Dr. W. L. Harris appeared before the General Conference at Memphis, in 1870, with credentials from a commission created by the Northern General Conference of 1868, "to treat with a similar commission from any other Methodist Church on the subject of union." They were heard, and their communication referred to a select committee, which reported "that the distinguished commission now present" were appointed and empowered, according to the journal of their General Conference, "to treat with similar commissions" from those Methodist Churches that "desired union" with the Church

North; and therefore the commission could not, "without great violence in construing language," be regarded as accredited to the Church, South; and "that if they were fully clothed with authority to treat with us for union, it is the judgment of this Conference that the true interests of the Church of Christ require and demand the maintenance of our separate and distinct organization;" and "that we tender to the members of the commission our high regards as brethren beloved in the Lord, and express our desire that the day may soon come when proper Christian sentiments and fraternal relations between the two great branches of Northern and Southern Methodism shall be permanently established."

The report of this committee was adopted unanimously, including this declaration: "That the action of our Bishops, in response to the message from the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, has the full indorsement of this General Conference, and accurately defines our position in reference to any overtures which may proceed from that Church, having in them an official and proper recognition of this body."

At the General Conference of 1874, convened in Louisville, three fraternal delegates appeared, duly commissioned from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* After mutual introductions to those on the platform, their credentials were read. The President then introduced them to the Conference, and they delivered addresses, of which the journal says they "were characterized by excellent taste, and warm, fraternal sentiments, which were well received by the Conference and the immense audience in attendance." The delegates were treated most hospitably while they remained, and on their taking leave appropriate resolutions were adopted. Considering the whole matter of fraternity as brought before them in the credentials and the addresses of the delegates,† the General Conference said:

* Albert S. Hunt, D.D., Charles H. Fowler, D.D., and General Clinton B. Fisk.

† The action of the General Conference in Brooklyn (1872) was partially incorporated in the certificate of the delegates, in the following terms: "To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them, it is hereby resolved that this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South at its next ensuing session."

Measures preparatory to formal fraternity would be defective that leave out of view questions in dispute between the Methodist Episcopal Church and ourselves. These questions relate to the course pursued by some of their accredited agents whilst prosecuting their work in the South, and to property which has been taken and held by them to this day against our protest and remonstrance. Although feeling ourselves sorely aggrieved in these things, we stand ready to meet our brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the spirit of Christian candor, and to compose all differences upon the principles of justice and equity.

It is to be regretted that the honored representatives who bore fraternal greetings to us were not empowered also to enter upon a settlement of these vexed questions. We are prepared to take advanced steps in this direction, and, waiving any considerations which might justify a greater reserve, we will not only appoint a delegation to return the greetings so gracefully conveyed to us from the Methodist Episcopal Church, but we will also provide for a commission to meet a similar commission from that Church for the purpose of settling disturbing questions. Open and righteous treatment of all cases of complaint will furnish the only solid ground upon which we can meet. Relations of amity are, with special emphasis, demanded between bodies so near akin. We be brethren. To the realization of this the families of Methodism are called by the movements of the times. The attractive power of the cross is working mightily. The Christian elements in the world are all astir in their search for each other. Christian hearts are crying to each other across vast spaces, and longing for fellowship. The heart of Southern Methodism being in full accord with these sentiments:

Resolved, That this General Conference has received with pleasure the fraternal greetings of the Methodist Episcopal Church, conveyed to us by their delegates; and that our College of Bishops be, and are hereby, authorized to appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to bear our Christian salutations to their next ensuing General Conference.

Resolved, That, in order to remove all obstacles to formal fraternity between the two Churches, our College of Bishops is authorized to appoint a commission, consisting of three ministers and two laymen, to meet a similar commission authorized by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to adjust all existing difficulties.

Accordingly delegates were appointed, who had a hearty reception at the General Conference of the other branch of Episcopal Methodism, in 1876: commissioners were also appointed.* These last were promptly met by commissioners from the other branch, clothed with equal powers.† (The Joint Commission met at Cape May, August 17–23, 1876, and after prayerful and patient deliberation unanimously agreed upon terms, which were accepted as a finality by the ensuing General Conferences of both

* Fraternal delegates: Lovick Pierce, D.D., James A. Duncan, D.D., and Landon C. Garland, LL.D. Commissioners: E. H. Myers, D.D., R. K. Hargrove, D.D., T. M. Finney, DD., Hon. R. B. Vance, Hon. David Clopton.

† M. D'C. Crawford, D.D., J. P. Newman, D.D., E. Q. Fuller, D.D., General C. B. Fisk, Hon. E. L. Fancher.

Churches. Conflicting claims to property were adjudicated by the Joint Commission both on general principles and in special cases; and directions were laid down, regulating the occupation of places as well as property, and it will be well for the peace of both parties and the honor of Christianity if they be well observed. In the beginning of their labors the Joint Commission adopted, without a dissentient voice, this basis and declaration of the relations of the two Churches:

Status of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and their coördinate relations as legitimate branches of Episcopal Methodism :

Each of said Churches is a legitimate branch of Episcopal Methodism in the United States, having a common origin in the Methodist Episcopal Church organized in 1784; and since the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was consummated in 1846, by the voluntary exercise of the right of the Southern Annual Conferences, ministers and members, to adhere to that Communion, it has been an evangelical Church, reared on scriptural foundations, and her ministers and members, with those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, have constituted one Methodist family, though in distinct ecclesiastical Connections.

The suggestion was thrown out; it grew into a general assembly of all the sons of Wesley—an Ecumenical Methodist Conference. Arrangements were completed for representatives from both hemispheres. As to the place of meeting no second opinion was heard, all feeling that for the first general assembly of the bands into which the United Societies of John Wesley had spread, no other spot could offer a scene so fitting as that City Road Chapel which had formed the principal center of his labors, and close to which his course had been finished and his dust laid. Of four hundred clerical and lay delegates one-half was to be chosen by churches in Europe with their missions, and one-half by churches in America with their missions. Friday, the 5th of August, 1881, was observed as a day of special prayer, on behalf of the approaching Conference.

On Wednesday, the 7th of September, the delegated brethren were assembled in the appointed place. They represented twenty-eight different denominations, and about five millions of living members, who preached or heard the gospel in thirty languages. They came from England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Africa, India, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and from all sections of the United States, from Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, South America, and the West Indies.

The opening sermon was preached by the senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* after which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the Conference. The address of welcome was made by the President of the Wesleyan Conference.† Concluding, he said: "What hath God wrought?" That was John Wesley's text when he laid the foundation of this chapel. I was curious enough to ask myself how many Methodists there were in the world at that time, and the total number, including America, was a little more than forty-four thousand. Here is a good stand-point by means of which we can measure, to some extent at least, what God has wrought for us, and by us—forty-four thousand and a few more, including America—a hundred years ago. To-day we speak of millions. We do not know what millions are; very few of us, by experience and observation, have been able to realize the idea of a million; but still we speak of millions, and we do not speak without the book when we speak of millions gathered at this day, by our humble instrumentality and that of our fathers, to our fellowship, and training under our care for the best of all fellowships at the right-hand of God. In repeating the welcome, which it was my official duty to offer to this Conference, I may fall back upon the words of Charles Wesley—for I have almost learned to think in them, and I have found few words more eminently adapted to the promotion of vital godliness. One of his earliest compositions is headed, 'On Receiving a Christian Friend.' It stands in the singular, but we can easily adapt it:

Welcome, friends, in that great Name,
Whence our every blessing flows;
Enter, and increase the flame,
Which in all our bosoms glows."

For two weeks the assembly continued, during which the communion of saints was practically taught and personally realized. Sundays were given to devotion, and the week-day sessions to discussion, by prepared papers and freer conversations, on the great topics that engage the heads and hearts and hands of Wesleyans everywhere; the sum of which is—spreading scriptural holiness over all lands. It was well remarked by one of the

* Bishop Simpson, whose lamented death is announced while these pages are going through the press. † George Osborn, D.D., President of Richmond College (theological), London.

speakers on the last day: "Methodism is admitted to be, in its ground-plan and in its structure, of all Church systems the closest in texture and the most cohesive. Its original structure was, that of UNITED SOCIETIES. No other Church has such a concatenation of appliances for binding its members together. It is, in fact as in name, a Connection, bound and fastened together by class-meetings, love-feasts, leaders' meetings, quarterly-meetings, district-meetings, Conferences, the community of ministers which the itinerancy secures, affiliated Conferences, fraternal Conferences, and now the top stone is at last brought on with shouting—the Ecumenical Conference."

The entertainment of this company devolved upon the English Methodists, and nothing was left undone by those who keep the old homestead to make the family reunion pleasant and edifying. It was a love-feast of nations, and the members separated with a greater love for the Head of the Church, and for that Christian family of which they formed a part, greater love for each other, and for all who loved the Lord Jesus Christ, of every clime, and a greater hope for the conversion of the world. Before adjournment another Ecumenical Conference was arranged for, to be held on the western side of the Atlantic.

While this record of the rise and progress of Methodism is being finished, notes of preparation are heard in the land. A hundred years ago the Christmas Conference was held. Then the Church was organized with eighty-three preachers and fifteen thousand members, which now numbers the former by thousands and the latter by millions. The times favor a Centennial Celebration, and as to the place of meeting, Baltimore has no rival. The graves of Asbury and Lee are there, and not far away sleeps the noble Strawbridge. And there, as from a mount of vision, may the people called Methodists, grateful for what God has done for them and by them in the past, catch an inspiring view of what God will do for them and by them, if faithful to their principles, in the next HUNDRED YEARS.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

METHODISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

EPISCOPAL METHODISTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHURCHES.	Itinerant Preachers.	Local Preachers.	Lay Members.
Methodist Episcopal Church.. . . .	12,647	12,026	1,769,534
Methodist Episcopal Church, South.. . . .	4,126	5,892	894,132
African Methodist Episcopal (Bethel) Church	1,832	9,760	391,044
African Methodist Episcopal (Zion) Church.	2,000	2,750	300,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church... . .	1,046	683	155,000
Evangelical Association.. . . .	953	599	119,758
United Brethren.....	1,257	963	159,547
Union American Methodist Episcopal Church	112	40	3,500
	23,973	32,713	3,792,515

NON-EPISCOPAL METHODISTS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Methodist Protestant Church.	1,358	1,010	123,054
American Wesleyan Church...	267	215	23,590
Free Methodist Church.....	263	326	12,719
Primitive Methodist Church....	27	162	3,716
Independent Methodist Church	25	27	5,000
Congregational Methodists... . . . .	..	23	20,000
	1,940	1,763	188,079

METHODISTS IN CANADA.

The Methodist Church of Canada.	1,316	1,261	128,644
Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada. . .	259	255	25,671
Primitive Methodist Church.	89	246	8,090
Bible Christian Church.	79	197	7,398
British Methodist Episcopal Church, colored	45	20	2,100
	1,688	1,979	171,903

METHODISTS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND MISSIONS.

British Wesleyan Methodists in Great Britain	1,917	14,183	441,484
British Wesleyan Methodists in Missions....	385	.....	70,747
Primitive Methodists....	1,147	15,982	196,480
New Connection Methodists.. . . .	188	1,271	29,299
United Free Methodists...	391	3,417	84,152
Wesleyan Reform Union.. . . .	551	....	8,663
Bible Christians (including Australia).. . .	228	1,909	28,624
Welsh Calvinistic Methodists..... . . .	207	234	58,577
Countess of Huntingdon's Connection .....	...	.. .	19,159
	5,014	36,996	937,185

WESLEYAN AFFILIATING CONFERENCES.

Irish Wesleyan Conference....	239	.. .	25,050
French Wesleyan Conference.. . . .	196	...	2,024
Australian Conference.....	449	4,480	69,392
South African Conference...	167	. . .	26,038
	1,051	4,480	126,504
Grand Total.....	33,666	77,931	5,216,186

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

The census of 1880, so far as the statistics of Churches are concerned, has not yet appeared in print. From the census of 1870 the following table is taken.

When Methodism began in America the Protestant Episcopal Church had been on the ground for one hundred and sixty years. Congregationalism followed in 1620, when the Mayflower landed with an organized Church. The Baptists, if dating no farther back in America than Roger Williams, may be reckoned from 1639, and the Presbyterians from 1684.

DENOMINATIONS.	Organi- zations.	Edifices.	Sittings.	Property.
Baptist (regular)....	14,174	12,857	3,997,116	\$39,229,221
Baptist (other)....	1,355	1,105	363,019	2,378,997
Christian....	3,578	2,822	865,602	6,425,137
Congregational....	2,887	2,715	1,117,212	25,069,698
Episcopal (Protestant)....	2,835	2,601	991,051	36,514,549
Evangelical Association....	815	641	193,796	2,301,650
Friends....	692	662	224,664	3,939,560
Jewish....	189	152	73,265	5,155,234
Lutheran....	3,032	2,766	977,332	14,917,747
Methodist....	25,278	21,337	6,528,209	69,854,121
Miscellaneous....	27	17	6,935	135,650
Moravian (<i>Unitas Fratrum</i>)....	72	67	25,700	709,100
Mormon....	189	171	87,838	656,750
New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian)....	90	61	18,755	869,700
Presbyterian (regular)....	6,262	5,683	2,198,900	47,828,732
Presbyterian (other)....	1,562	1,388	499,344	5,436,524
Reformed Church in America....	471	468	227,228	10,359,255
Reformed Church in United States ..	1,256	1,145	431,700	5,775,215
Roman Catholic....	4,127	3,806	1,990,514	60,985,566
Second Advent....	225	140	34,555	306,240
Shaker....	18	18	8,850	86,900
Spiritualist....	95	22	6,970	100,150
Unitarian....	331	310	155,471	6,282,675
United Brethren in Christ....	1,445	937	265,025	1,819,810
Universalists....	719	602	210,884	5,692,325
Unknown (local missions)....	26	27	11,925	687,800
Unknown (union)....	409	562	153,202	965,295
All denominations....	72,459	63,082	21,665,062	\$354,483,581

From the last figures the "Methodist Year-book" makes the following exhibit:

Total Methodists....	27,538	22,915	7,455,937	\$73,975,581
Total Baptists (all kinds)....	15,829	13,962	4,360,135	41,608,198
Total Presbyterians....	7,824	7,070	2,698,244	53,265,256
Total Congregationalists....	2,887	2,715	1,117,212	25,069,698
Total Protestant Episcopal....	2,835	2,601	991,051	36,514,549
Total Roman Catholic....	4,127	3,806	1,900,514	60,985,566

	Ministers.	Members
Total Methodists in the United States ..	25,835*	3,993,724
Total Baptists (North and South) ..	10,246	2,552,129
Total Presbyterians (North and South) ..	8,893	1,002,944
Total Congregationalists ..	3,723	387,619
Total Protestant Episcopal ..	3,630	313,889

* Exclusive of 34,714 local preachers, many of them ordained.

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